



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### **Usage guidelines**

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### **About Google Book Search**

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



## *German American annals*

German American Historical Society, Philadelphia, National  
German-American Alliance, Union of Old German Students ...

US 10619.2.10.2



Harvard College Library

FROM

By Exchange











# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations  
OF  
Germany and America

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*  
*The National German American Alliance*  
*The Union of Old German Students in America*

EDITOR,

MARION DEXTER LEARNED,  
University of Pennsylvania.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS :

H. C. G. BRANDT,  
Hamilton College.

W. H. CARPENTER,  
Columbia University.

W. H. CARRUTH,  
University of Kansas.

HERMANN COLLITZ,  
Bryn Mawr College.

STARR W. CUTTING,  
University of Chicago.

DANIEL K. DOJGE,  
University of Illinois.

A. B. FAUST,  
Cornell University.

KUNO FRANCKE,  
Harvard University.

ADOLPH GERBER,  
Late of Earlham College.

HENRY WOOD, Johns Hopkins University.

JULIUS GOEBEL,  
Harvard University.

J. T. HATFIELD,  
Northwestern University.

W. T. HEWETT,  
Cornell University.

A. R. HOHLFELD,  
University of Wisconsin.

HUGO K. SCHILLING,  
University of California.

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,  
University of Chicago.

HERMANN SCHOENFELD,  
Columbia University.

CALVIN THOMAS,  
Columbia University.

H. S. WHITE,  
Harvard University.

New Series, Vol. 5.

Old Series, Vol. 9.

1907.

PUBLISHED BY

THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,

809 SPRING GARDEN STREET,

Philadelphia.

Berlin :

MAYER & MÜLLER

New York :

CARL A. STERN

Leipzig :

F. A. BROCKHAUS

London :

KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

Paris :

H. LESOUDIER

~~Phil 01 514.2~~

US 10619.2.10.2

1919



## CONTENTS OF VOLUME V.

### ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

	PAGES.
Joseph G. Rosengarten. By the Editor . . . . .	3-8
Diary of Rev. Andrew Rudman, July 25, 1696-June 14, 1697 (concluded). Transcribed, Translated and Edited from the Original Manuscript by Luther Anderson, A. M. . . . .	9-18
Karl Theodor Bayrhofer. Ein Charakterbild aus dem Westen von Dr. W. A. Fritsch, Evansville, Ind. .	19-25
Schwälmer Haussprüche. Collected by G. C. L. Schuchard.	26-29
› An American Ethnographical Survey. Report by the Director, M. D. Learned . . . . .	30-53
Dialectal Peculiarities in the Carlisle (Pa.) Vernacular. By C. William Prettyman . . . . .	67-79
Patriotische Betrachtungen. By Otto Heller . . . . .	80-104
› Berlin, a German Settlement in Waterloo County, Ontario, Canada. By C. L. Nicolay . . . . .	105-121
Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown. By Marion Dexter Learned . . . . 131-171, 195-234,	259-293
Some Unpublished Longfellow Letters. By Amandus Johnson . . . . .	172-185
Konvention des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Central Vereins von Pennsylvanien . . . . .	235-248
Alexander Reinagle and his Connection with the Musical Life of Philadelphia. By R. R. Drummond . . .	294-306
Provincialisms of Southeastern Pennsylvania. By B. A. Heydrick . . . . .	307-313

212  
45

REVIEWS.

	PAGES.
Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande nebst einem Adressbuch der Deutschen Auslandsschulen (Wm. G. Bek) . . . . .	54-55
Das Deutschtum in Kanada. Von Alwin Oppel (Wm. G. Bek) . . . . .	55-57
Reisebilder aus Amerika. Von Adam Röder (Wm. G. Bek)	57
German American Literature. By Amelia von Ende (Wm. G. Bek) . . . . .	58
Die Glocke (Wm. G. Bek) . . . . .	58
Longfellow and German Romance. By Fred Lewis Pattee (Wm. G. Bek) . . . . .	59
Americana. Von Karl Lamprecht (Wm. G. Bek) . . .	59-60
Amerikanische Eindrücke. Von Ludwig Fulda (Wm. G. Bek) . . . . .	61-64
Persönliche Eindrücke von Amerikanischen Universitäten. Von Alois Brandl (Wm. G. Bek) .. . . .	122-123
Bibliography of German Americana for the Year 1906. (Wm. G. Bek) . . . . .	124-128, 249-256, 314-320

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations  
OF  
Germany and America

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*  
*The National German American Alliance*  
*The Union of Old German Students in America*

### CONTENTS:

Joseph George Rosengarten	- - - - -	3
Diary of Rev. Andrew Rudman, July 25, 1696—June 14, 1697	- - - - -	9
Karl Theodor Bayrholfer	- - - - -	19
Schwaalmer Hausprueche	- - - - -	26
An American Ethnographical Survey	- - - - -	30
Reviews	- - - - -	54

NEW SERIES, Vol. 5, No. 1.                      OLD SERIES, Vol. 9, No. 1.  
JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1907.

Subscription Price, \$3.00.                      Single Copies, 25 cents.

COPYRIGHT, 1907.

(Entered March 2, 1903, at Philadelphia, Pa., as Second Class matter, under Act of Congress, of March 3, 1879)

PUBLISHED BY

THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,  
809 SPRING GARDEN STREET,  
Philadelphia.

Berlin:  
MAYER & MÜLLER

New York:  
CARL A. STERN

Leipzig:  
F. A. BROCKHAUS

London:  
KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

Paris:  
H. LESOUDIER

## ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Bi-Monthly, **GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS**, is a continuation of the Quarterly, **AMERICANA GERMANICA**, and will make accessible to a wider public current matter bearing upon the Relations of Germany and America. Each number will contain a series of original contributions, reviews, book notices and lists of new publications, relating to the history of the Germans in America and also to American studies in the general field of Germanica.

The original title **AMERICANA GERMANICA** will be retained for the series of larger monographs which do not fall within the limits of a periodical, and for reprints. These monographs will be published at such times as they are presented, and will be sold separately, the price varying according to the character of the monograph.

In the Monthly regular attention will be given to reviews and book notices. New publications will be promptly listed and so far as possible reviewed. Contributions, books for review and exchanges are solicited, especially such as come within the scope of the Monthly, and should be sent to the editor, *M. D. Learned, Box 10, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.*

Subscriptions and other business communications should be directed to the business manager, *Charles H. Breitbarth, 809 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, Pa.*

The annual subscription price is three dollars (\$3.00) in advance. Members of the German American Historical Society are entitled to the periodical publications issued by the Society. To members of other affiliated societies the Monthly will be sent for two dollars (\$2.00), provided not less than a hundred members of such a society subscribe for the journal.

### SPECIAL TO LIBRARIES.

#### GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS.

As full sets are nearly exhausted, Vol. I-IV will not be sold separately. Back sets can be had as follows :

Volume I,	}	complete . . . . .	\$10.00
Volume II,			
Volume III,			
Volume IV,			
Volume V, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VI, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VII, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VIII, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00

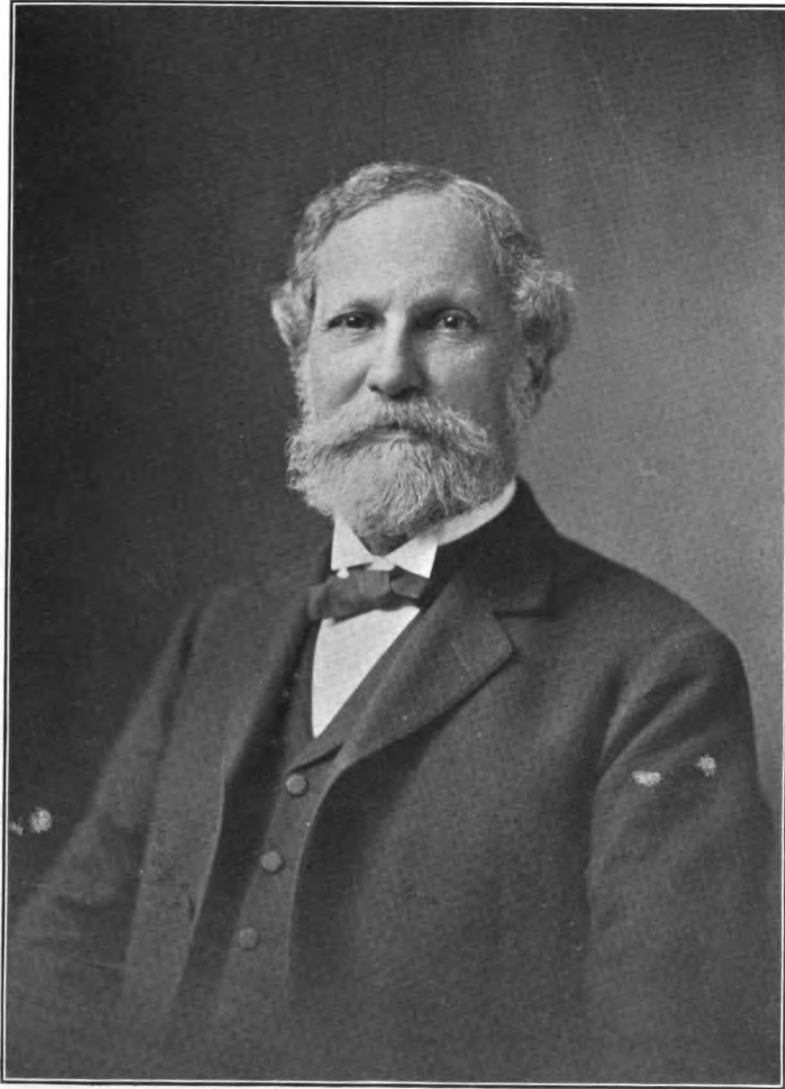
#### AMERICANA GERMANICA (Monographs Bound in Cloth).

1. *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines.* By E. Z. Davis, Ph. D. . . . . \$1.65
2. *The Harmony Society.* By J. A. Bole, Ph. D. . . . . 1.50
3. *Friedrich Schiller in America.* By E. C. Parry, Ph. D. . . . . 1.25
4. *The Influence of Salomon Gessner Upon English Literature.*  
By Bertha Reed . . . . . 1.25
5. *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri.* By Wm. G. Bek . . . . . 1.50

PRINTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL PRINTING CO.,  
Philadelphia, Pa.







JOSEPH GEORGE ROSENGARTEN, LL. D.

By Exchange

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

---

New Series,  
Vol. V. No. 1.

January and February  
1907.

Old Series,  
Vol. IX. No. 1.

---

JOSEPH GEORGE ROSENGARTEN.

CHEVALIER DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR AND DOCTOR OF LAWS.

In conferring upon Joseph George Rosengarten the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws on Washington's Birthday, the University of Pennsylvania gave expression to long deserved recognition of the attainments and services of one of Philadelphia's most worthy and useful citizens. It seems a fitting time to emphasize some of the public and private services which prompted this recognition, even at the risk of violating the modest wishes of the recipient of the honor.

Dr. Rosengarten is descended from German ancestors. He was born in Philadelphia, July 14th, 1835. His father, George David Rosengarten, was a native of Hesse-Cassel, and came to America in 1819, at the age of eighteen, later taking up his profession as chemist in Philadelphia. His mother was Elizabeth Bennett, of Hamburg, Germany.

Soon after the discovery of quinine, Mr. George D. Rosengarten, in 1821, began the manufacture of it as a drug.

(3)

G. D. Rosengarten was for many years Director of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and for over fifty years Director of the Mechanics Bank. His business is continued by his sons, all of whom studied abroad. Samuel G., the eldest, studied chemistry with Professor Liebig at Giessen. Joseph G. studied Roman Law with von Mohl at the University of Heidelberg. Adolph C. and Frank H. also pursued the study of chemistry with Fresenius at Wiesbaden.

Joseph G. Rosengarten received his early education at the Preparatory School of Philadelphia, then taught by Professor Crawford, and entered the College of the University of Pennsylvania, graduating with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1852, at the age of eighteen. After graduation, he entered the law office of Henry M. Phillips to pursue the study of law. After being admitted to the Philadelphia Bar, he continued the study of jurisprudence at the University of Heidelberg and began his literary work by contributing articles to the Philadelphia *Evening Journal*, *The Philadelphia Ledger*, *Atlantic Monthly* and *The Nation*. His literary articles and reviews, after his return to Philadelphia, brought him into close touch with the libraries, and he soon became a member of various library committees.

In 1859, even before the outbreak of the war, he had an exciting experience with the participants of the John Brown Raid. The incident is graphically described in his own words in the *Atlantic Monthly* of June, 1865. While on a tour through Virginia, the train was delayed at Harper's Ferry. Wishing to occupy the time, Mr. Rosengarten went out to view the locality, but was soon confronted by an officer, who asked for his pass. Not able to produce a pass, he was locked up as it happened in a room next to the one in which John Brown was imprisoned. The officer, hearing the name of Rosengarten, asked if he was related to the Rosengarten in Philadelphia. Upon learning that the prisoner was his son, the officer replied, "You're all right! You may pass! My father is the druggist here in town and I'm well acquainted with your father's quinine."

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Mr. Rosengarten enlisted in a local company of Philadelphia gentlemen, which was sent to Fort Delaware; but wishing more active service, he joined Col. Chapman Biddle's 121st Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, and was made lieutenant of the Color Company. At the Battle of Fredericksburg the color bearers of the company were shot, whereupon Lieut. Rosengarten picked up the colors, and carried them in sharp action. For his bravery General Reynolds appointed him to the rank of major on his staff. At the Battle of Gettysburg he directed one of Reynolds' brigades the morning of the 1st of July and, after the general was killed, brought the body of his fallen chief back to Lancaster.

In the war he made the acquaintance of the Comte de Paris, and the Duc d'Orleans, who were on McClellan's Staff, thus beginning a friendship which lasted through years. When the Comte de Paris wrote his famous book on the Rebellion, he asked the collaboration of Mr. Rosengarten. His French acquaintances and his correspondence with Marquis de Rochambeau were the forerunners of the important service which Mr. Rosengarten performed in securing the purchase of the Rochambeau Papers by the Congress of the United States.

One of the great early services which Mr. Rosengarten rendered the city was the revolutionizing and reorganization of the House of Refuge, by the introduction of a humane method of treating and educating the unfortunate children intrusted to the care of that institution. Upon his election as a member of the administrative board, he was deeply impressed with the prison-like methods of the institution. In order to inform himself concerning the best methods, he visited similar institutions in England, and on the Continent of Europe, but found that even there the inmates were treated much as convicts. Returning home, he presented a bill to the Legislature asking aid for the removal of the school to the country. This bill was passed, but vetoed by the governor. Not disheartened, however, he solicited funds by private subscrip-

tion and aided in collecting the sum of \$500,000 for the purpose. The school was then removed to Glenn Mills, where adequate buildings were provided. The children are now treated as members of one great household, given the rudiments of an education, and the first lessons in a number of trades. The justification of this reform is found in the fact that instead of relapsing into vice, some 90 per cent. of these children are now redeemed to good citizenship.

When Mr. Drexel founded the Drexel Institute, Mr. Rosengarten was made one of the Board of Directors. His experience in the humane enterprises of the city, and his practical knowledge of books and libraries qualified him for the position which he still holds as President of the great Free Library System of Philadelphia, Chairman of the Library Committee of the University of Pennsylvania and the Drexel Institute, and the prominent part which he has taken in the movement for the Extension of University Teaching.

In all of these practical affairs, Mr. Rosengarten has maintained his interest in historical and scientific research, and has given evidence of his scholarship in a large number of publications. Out of a lecture, delivered at the request of the German Society, many years ago, was developed his book, "*The German Soldier in the Wars of America.*" From old papers found during his residence at Newport, he wrote an account of the French occupation of Newport. As the friend of George Bancroft, he rendered important service to this historian's great work, *The History of the United States*. After the burning of the library of the University of Strassburg, in Alsace, he assisted in making a collection of books for the rehabilitation of that library.

As the son of a Hessian family, his interest naturally turned to the history of the Hessian soldiers in America, and he translated in abridged form Max von Eelking's *History of the Allied German Forces*, with the title *The German Allied Troops in the North American War for Independence*, and wrote his *Sources*



*of American History in German Archives, Frederick the Great and the United States, Benjamin Franklin's Bagatelles*, and many other monographs. Thus it was but fitting that he should become the first president of the German American Historical Society, which was organized and incorporated in 1901.

He was chosen in 1896 one of the Board of Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, and has been devoted to the interests of the institution in all its varied activities. Unlike most men, he has not limited his interests to one or two favorite subjects. His has not been the gift of buildings for a specific purpose, which the passerby could see, but his beneficence has been bestowed on many departments to cover the hundred urgent needs—to buy books and apparatus, to publish scientific results, to carry on special investigation, to photograph and copy valuable manuscripts—all aids so essential to scientific research, and aids which the donor of large, individual sums, not acquainted with the needs of university work, often overlooks in endowing buildings. Only the giver, with scientific insight, can see the value of Fellowships, Scholarships, and the hundred invisible aids which promote the true progress of a university. It is this deeper insight which has made Dr. Rosengarten one of the most generous and versatile benefactors of the University, and the departments of History, Language, Literature, Mathematics, and Natural Science can all testify to his generosity. Many of the scientific enterprises, which now bear the name of Pennsylvania far beyond the sea, have been made possible through such varied gifts.

When Mr. W. W. Frazier severed his connection as Chairman of the Library Committee, it was feared that no one could be found to continue his generosity toward the Library. Fortunately, Dr. Rosengarten was willing to assume the burden, thus becoming the moving force both in the University Library and the Free Library work.

The French Government recognized his services to French Language and Literature by bestowing upon him the honor of

Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur. It is not too much to say that his services in promoting the interests of German culture in America have been even greater. His subscription was among the first on the list for the purchase of the Bechstein Library. His name is always to be seen among the subscribers of every good German cause. The German Society, the German American Historical Society, the United German Singers, the German Publication Fund, the German Theater, the Germanic Museum, and scores of other German enterprises have been recipients of his interest and assistance.

DIARY OF REV. ANDREW RUDMAN, JULY 25,  
1696—JUNE 14, 1697.

*Transcribed, Translated and Edited From the Original  
Manuscript,*

BY

LUTHER ANDERSON, A. M.

(Concluded.)

March 30. The same easterly wind continued, but, as it was very meagre, we made little progress. The day was clear and beautiful most of the time, but still I had to wear my wolfskin jacket. Our latitude was 49 degrees, 35 minutes.

March 31. The weather was beautiful and almost calm. What little breeze we had was favorable, or SE. and S. by E. In the afternoon we hove to while the Commodore and our Captain were at a banquet on board a ship which was about to go with some others to West India, or Guiana and the Barbadoes. Towards night the wind began to freshen up a little from the south.

March 31. When the Captain came back the Commodore bought of him for 22 pounds' Sterling, a maid-servant<sup>91</sup> which he had for sale on our ship; for what purpose He alone knows who knows shamelessness.

April.

April 1. The wind was slow, and began to shift to the east.

---

<sup>91</sup> Either a slave or an indentured servant.

April. 2. In the afternoon the wind changed to SE., and in the night a good breeze began to blow, east and ENE. We went six and a half miles an hour, and could have gone more, if the fleet had not hindered us. In order to wait for them we had to shorten sail and sail thus all day the 3d.

April 2. Four ships left us, bound for the Barbadoes and Guiana. They gave us a farewell salute, which our Commodore answered.

April 3. There was a fine, even east and NE. wind.

April 3. Our latitude was 47 degrees, 7 minutes. From 12 o'clock of the 3d to 12 o'clock of the 4th we sailed 159 miles.

April 4. Which was Easter Sunday, the same wind continued, and was good and strong, God be praised.

April 4. Mr. Corbin preached on the ship. Text, Mark 16:10.

April 5. The same wind continued, and to-day we sailed 174 miles, and could have gone 100 miles further if the fleet had not delayed us.

April 5. We took an observation and found our latitude to be 45 degrees, 9 minutes. To-day our Commodore captured a prize, a flyboat, bound for Newfoundland, having a cargo of salt, wine and French brandy.

April 6. Our Commodore chased another French ship, and returned with it on the 7th. It was a half-caper, carried 8 guns, had a crew of 24 men, and was loaded with salt, wine and brandy. It was a beautiful ship of the French type. The flyboat was of Dutch make, probably taken from them by the Dutch.

April 6 and 7. The same wind continued, but began to die down gradually. In the night the wind turned to the south, and on the 8th we had a hard storm. We were, nevertheless, able to keep our course. In the afternoon the wind shifted to the southwest, or straight against us; therefore, we had to sail NW. by W.

April 9. The weather became quite warm, and everybody had to take off his wolfskin jacket. The crew thought we must be

near Newfoundland Bank, judging from the foggy weather, for the weather is continually foggy on this bank. We were told that this bank is over 500 leagues from Lizard.

April 9 and 10. The wind was again from the south, and the weather was dismal and foggy. The wind was so dull that we could not sail more than two and a half miles an hour at most, although we carried all our sails.

April 11. The first Sunday after Easter. We got a strong wind from the south in the afternoon. We then sailed W. by S., going about five and a half to six miles an hour; but this did not last long. After that we could not sail more than three to three and a half miles an hour. Towards night the wind turned to SW., and increased to a gale.

April 11. I gave Mr. U. C. Corkshatt a *Meditation Concerning the Imparting of the Confidence in Christ*, which I wrote to-day. I also wrote a hymn, beginning, "Idel nig i evighet." It is sung to the same melody as the hymn beginning "O Gud, O Gud så from."

April 12. In spite of the fog, we were able to take the height of the sun, which was..... 32°, 30'  
To which is added the declination of the sun for that

day ..... 12°, 29'  
Which gives latitude..... 44°, 59'

April 12. The weather was very foggy, and the same contrary wind continued. At midnight there arose a terrible storm just like the one we had under Skagen at Jutland, if not worse. The waves rose to an awful height, the sea became white and was driven before the wind like snow. This storm continued on the 13th all day; it hailed and the weather was very cold.

April 12. Just before this terrible storm came, we saw four or five St. Elmo's fires, or Castor and Pollux. They burned as bright as lanterns. The crew knew at once what it meant, namely, that a storm was brewing. But, God be praised, we lost nothing in this storm, only our dog-vanes, which were blown to pieces.



One may judge how high the waves were from the fact that when we were down between them I could see neither the sails nor the tops of the masts nor anything else of the ship which was only two or three gunshots away from us, and was a full rigged three-master. But I have seen the wonders of God in the sea, for I saw large ships rocking between mountains of water like little yawls, and when the waves beat against the ship it creaked so that I thought every joint would break. But, God be praised, for He held the ship together and made it strong. The storm began to abate a little in the night, so that we could shake out reefs and get under way at 10 o'clock on the 14th. We sailed northward to find the fleet, and at seven o'clock we went about and sailed SSW., for we could hardly go farther north. We were then ten ships. We did not see the other three.

April 15. The same wind continued, but was very mild. We hove to and waited for the other ships.

April 15. The day was clear, and we took the height of the sun and got..... $30^{\circ}, 44'$   
 Declinatio solis ..... $13^{\circ}, 29'$   
 Latitude ..... $44^{\circ}, 3'$

Towards night the same contrary wind began to blow; we sailed S. by W. and SSW.

April 16. The wind increased, so that we had to shorten sail in the afternoon and heave to. In the night there was another severe storm, in which the ship pitched terribly. One wave broke over the quarter deck, swept the whole deck, and dashed against the gallery so hard that we thought the ship was going to break to pieces. The salt (water) came in through the gallery and sparkled on the floor like fire.<sup>33</sup> Before this I had not seen the Calvinistic preachers touch their prayer-books, but now they fell to praying in earnest, and kept it up all night. I did not mind the storm, but delivered myself up to God and, trusting in Him, I

---

<sup>33</sup> From the phosphorescence.

lay down to sleep, in Jesus' name, and slept all night, except when the ship struck heavily against the waves; then I would awake, a little frightened, and breathe a prayer, after which I would go to sleep again.

April 18. The wind went down a little, and we were able to get under way. We sailed by-the-wind. We took an observation, and found our latitude to be 49° 29'.

April 19 and 20. The weather was calm. Later a breeze sprang up, and we were able to keep our course, W. by S., SW., etc.

April 20. I had my arm lanced, on account of a fever and burning in the head. The blood looked healthy, nor could we notice any excessive heat in it, God be praised. May God grant that this lancing may benefit me. Mr. Belthasar Emrich, the doctor on the ship, did the lancing. He is a Swede, born in Stockholm. The same day the bosons caught a very large turtle, a strange looking fish, having four feet like fins and a head like that of a parrot. It was large and round, like "*finnbulla*;" the shell was hard as iron.

April 23. The weather was perfectly calm; just before noon it rained a little. Towards evening a gentle breeze sprang up from the east, at which we rejoiced. The sky looked as if we would have a steady strong wind. Our hopes were high, but in the night the wind shifted to the SW., and on the 24th to WNW., increasing more and more, so that on Sunday, the 25th, we had a hard storm, much worse than the one we had before. It rained, and when the clouds came it blew terribly.

April 26. The wind went down a little, so that we could carry the lower sails. In this way we went straining against the wind, but were able to keep our course.

April 27. In the morning we had a fine ENE. wind. May God grant that it may be steady. But it did not last longer than that day. Then we got a west wind, against which we had to tack; it continued the rest of April.

**May.**

May 1. We got a tolerable wind, and were able to keep our course; but towards evening it shifted to the west again. This wind continued on the 2d, which was the fourth Sunday after Easter.

May 2. We saw some huge fishes, whales. Sometimes they would show their tails, which were two or three yards broad, above the water.

May 3. We had a north wind, and sailed westward. Later the wind shifted to the east.

May 3, 4, 5, 6, we had a good side wind, most of the time from SSE. We sailed a good distance in this wind.

May 6. Towards noon we had hard weather, with lightning, thunder and rain. Just after noon the weather became fine, and a breeze sprang up from the south. The squall we had was from SW. by SSW.

May 8. Three of our masts broke, the mizzen mast, the main mast and the top mast. We quickly raised and adjusted other masts in their places on the 8th and 9th.

May 7 and 8. The same wind continued. On the 9th, which was Ember-Day, the wind shifted to NW. and continued thus until the 10th.

May 10. Our latitude was  $35^{\circ}, 30'$ . We were accordingly farther to the south than we ought to be; therefore, we changed our course more to the west. According to our reckoning, we were about 100 miles from land.

May 11. The sky was clear and the weather beautiful. This continued on the 12th, when there was a dead calm.

May 13. We had a SSE. wind, at which we rejoiced. It began to blow more and more, so that on the 14th we had a strong wind, with rain and fog. In the afternoon it began to clear up, and the wind shifted to SSW. and SW. by S.

May 14. We saw grass and occasionally branches of trees in the water. We also saw land birds. From these things, aside

from our reckonings, we judged that we were not far from land. But later we found out that we were farther than we thought. According to the reckonings of the Commodore, and all the mates of the whole fleet, we ought to be at the end of our voyage, and—yet we did not sight land. Sometimes we had good breezes, but still we were so far from land that we could not get soundings. This false reckoning they attributed to the difficulty of allowing for the ocean current, and to the fact that we had often waited for the other ships.

May 16. Which was the sixth Sunday after Easter, we had another little breeze, but it died down on the 17th. We had fine summer weather all the time; sometimes we had a good breeze, but it was soon followed by beautiful calm weather. This kind of weather prevailed almost the whole month, but the wind was contrary most of the time, either from the west or south.

May 22. The night before Pentecost, there was a great deal of thunder and lightning. The thunder was not so loud as I have often heard it in Sweden, but the lightning was terrible. The wind was NW., and remained so all day Pentecost, and also the next day. We then saw a water-spout. It drew the water up out of the sea into the sky. The boatswain said that it was a small one compared to one he had seen between the Canary Islands and Spain.

Note.—Water-spouts are so strong that if a ship comes under them they will draw it up, or at least capsize it. If the water-spout breaks and falls it will crush the ship.

After this we had calm, quiet weather.

May 27. We fell in with two other ships. They were from Ireland. The second one came to us on the 28th, and informed us that according to their reckoning, they had still 80 leagues to go.

May 29. We met a little ship called a brigantine, from Virginia, bound for England. They informed us that they had sailed from there on the 25th, and that they now reckoned 50 leagues from land. God be praised for this good news.

Note.—During the calm weather we caught some fish, a sea-dog, some dolphins (they look something like salmon, are gold-colored and speckled like salmon-trout). Mr. Bordley shot an albacore, but we did not get it because of the speed of the ship.

There was such a dearth of tobacco on the ship that they scraped the bark from the hoops of barrels and smoked it. They also smoked the stems of raisins. They gave two biscuits, with pork and meat, for a pipe of tobacco. But when the brigantine came, everybody got tobacco enough.

May 27. A gentle breeze came up from the east, which continued on the 28th and began to increase a little on the 30th.

May 30. At 12 o'clock P. M., we got sounding in 24 fathoms. We were then very glad.

May 31. We sighted land at — Island. God be praised that we at last have come so near; but because the wind was SSE. and we were too far north we did not get to see Cape Charles; neither could we head up, but had to take a leg out to sea again.

### June.

June 1. We came towards land again, but did not come any nearer catching our prey than before; but we were a little farther to the south.

June 2. We approached the cape again. In the afternoon a fine breeze sprang up, and we heaved anchor; we had dropped it a little during the ebb of the tide. We approached land and came, God be praised, to the James River.

Note.—They tell us that it has often happened that ships not being able to get inside the cape, have been driven to sea again, and have not been able to get in for five or six weeks. Therefore, it is so much more incumbent upon us to give very humble thanks to God, who so conveniently brought us in. Everlasting glory be to God alone! Amen.

June 3. We heaved anchor and sailed farther up the James

River to the Commodore and the other ships. The next day we went ashore. Going up into the woods, we found a beautiful sycamore, under which we fell upon our knees and praised God for his protection and prayed for further help and support. We remained ashore over night, and went aboard the next day. The soil was sandy, a little mixed with mold, and very fertile. We saw oaks, sycamores, ash trees, bird cherries, walnut trees and mulberry trees. The mulberries were good. I saw some squirrels, a large ugly snake, beautiful song birds, swallows (the swallows are more grayish and have a coarser voice than those in Sweden), jays, thrushes, jackdaws, small birds, etc. I recognized some species of grass as hieracium, pseudocamedrys, veronica, etc. But I saw many kinds of grasses that I have never seen before, concerning which, God willing, I shall learn more in the future.

June 11. I was ashore on the other side while the Captain was at the court or council which the Governor held concerning the ships and their freighting in the Tanna river, where the fort is. The weather was fine. There we ate a lot of mulberries, which agreed with us all except that they acted as a laxative. Some of the people living here said that they give them the cholera morbus if they eat too much of them.

June 14. We left the river (James) because our Captain found out that we could get no cargo there, and directed our course up the bay to Maryland. We did not get far that day. During the night a strong storm arose, NE. by N., and, therefore, we had to ride at anchor on Friday, the 15th. Towards evening the wind went down and on the 16th, about noon, when the tide came in, we proceeded a little with the wind E. by NE.

(This is the last entry of the diary.)

## (OTHER DOCUMENTS IN THE DIARY.)

As the Reverend Mr. Andrew Georanson<sup>88</sup> hath resided for some time past near the city of Philadelphia, it hath been my fortune to be some time in his company, and so far as I have known, or heard, his conduct and behavior have been regular and laudable.

Philadelphia, April 28, 1780.

JAMES HAMILTON.

The Reverend Mr. Georanson who hath resided in Philadelphia ever since the year 1767 brought letters of recommendation to me from the honorable Thomas Penn, Esq., one of the proprietors of Pennsylvania, in the year 1770, likewise produced letters of recommendation from the Consistory of Upsal in Sweden. As he has now a design of returning to Sweden, I do hereby certify that his conduct during his Residence here hath been exemplary and becoming his Profession, so far as hath come to my knowledge.

Philadelphia, April 28th, 1780.

JOHN PENN.

---

<sup>88</sup>Rev. Andrew Georanson was sent over from Sweden in 1766; became rector of Wicaco church in 1768; officiated until the close of 1779; returned home in 1785; died in 1800—Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*.

Thomas Penn (1702-1775), second son of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania, by his second wife, Hannah Callowhill.

John Penn (1729-1795), eldest son of Richard Penn, and grandson of William Penn. He was appointed by his father and his uncle Thomas Penn to be lieutenant-governor of the colony of Pennsylvania in 1763; he retained his post until Oct. 16, 1771, and resumed it 1773-6. He died in Philadelphia Feb. 10, 1795.

KARL THEODOR BAYRHOFFER.

Ein Charakterbild aus dem Westen von  
DR. W. A. FRITSCH, Evansville, Ind.

I.

*Der Philosoph im Hinterwalde.*

Die Farmen mit ihren schmucken Häusern und Wirthschaftsgebäuden, welche die Reisenden vom Eisenbahnzuge aus, in den mittleren und westlichen Staaten Amerikas erblicken, sind grösstenteils über das Gründungsstadium hinaus und lassen nur errathen, mit welchen Schwierigkeiten dieselben vor 50 Jahren aus dem jungfräulichen Boden mit zuweilen starkem Holzbestand hergerichtet und gebaut wurden. Die deutschen Emigranten, welche hierher in die Freiheit flüchteten, waren mit keinen besonderen Glücksgütern ausgestattet: wohl ihnen, wenn sie eine gute Gesundheit und ein paar starke Arme zur Arbeit mitbrachten. Gehörten sie dem Gelehrtenstande an, so mussten sie sich erst an die Handarbeit gewöhnen, und das war keine Kleinigkeit. Es legten sich von den studirten Achtundvierzigern, welche zu Anfang der fünfziger Jahre vorigen Jahrhunderts nach Amerika kamen, auch nur wenige auf den Landbau, ihre Hände waren nicht fest genug, den Pflug zu meistern und den rauhen Boden zu bestellen. Die jugendlichen Reformer wollten auch hier lieber das grosse Wort führen, wie in Deutschland, und stürzten sich in Zeitungsunternehmungen oder in die politische Arena, wo sie sich zuweilen vermessen, älteren Ansiedlern ihre oft unklaren, radikalen Vorschläge aufzudringen. Da war es kein Wunder, wenn es zwischen den Grünen und Grauen oft zu Auseinandersetzungen kam und Jahre darüber hingehen mussten, bis diese Gegensätze ausgeglichen wurden, um dann zum gemeinsamen Wirken vorgehen zu können.



Der Mann, dessen Lebenslauf wir hier in Kürze schildern wollen, gehörte nicht zu dieser Sorte junger Weltverbesserer, er nahm es von Anfang an sehr ernst mit der Lebensaufgabe hier, und wollte erst einmal festen Boden unter den Füßen haben, ehe er sich der Lehrthätigkeit wieder zuwandte. K. Th. Bayrhoffer, geboren in Marburg, am 14. Oktober 1812, war in seiner Vaterstadt als ordentlicher Professor der Philosophie an der Universität angestellt, als er zum Mitgliede der Kurhessischen Ständerversammlung gewählt wurde und mit seinem Gesinnungsgenossen Dr. Gottlieb Theodor Kellner zusammenwirkte. Seine Theilnahme an der sogenannten lichtfreundlichen Bewegung und an der Politik seines engeren Heimatlandes, zogen ihm Verfolgungen zu, denen er sich 1852 durch die Auswanderung nach Amerika entzog. In dem südlichen Wisconsin, bei Monroe in Green County, liess er sich als Farmer nieder und lebte hier siebenzehn Jahre mit Frau und Kindern still für sich, als einfacher Farmer im Hinterwalde. Otto Niemeier, welcher Bayrhoffer mit einem Empfehlungsschreiben des Abgeordneten Wriesberg von der alten Heimath bald nach seiner Niederlassung aufsuchte, hat eine humoristische Schilderung über diesen Besuch für den ersten Band des „Deutschen Pioniers“ geschrieben. Er fand endlich nach langem Suchen des Professors Farm und ihn selbst beim Kühemelken. Da die Schweine ins Kornfeld ausgebrochen waren, so mussten dieselben zurückgetrieben werden und der Professor ertheilte ihm, auf das Loch zeigend, wo sie durchgegangen waren, die Belehrung: „Es ist Gesetz der Schweine und Gespenster, wo sie hineinspazirt sind, da müssen sie auch hinaus.“ An dieser Schweinehatz betheiligte sich Otto Niemeier nun mit den übrigen Familienmitgliedern und dafür ward ihm auch ein kräftiges Mahl sowie ein gastliches Bett in dem einfachen Blockhaus zu Theil. Das Terrain mit seinen Höhen und Felsgestein entlockte Otto Niemeier einige Bewunderung, worauf die Frau Professorin mit einer weiteren Belehrung für ihn bemerkte: „So dachte mein Mann auch, als er die Farm kaufte; jetzt meint er, er habe das physikalische Gesetz, wonach zwei Körper nicht den-

selben Raum einnehmen können, wohl gekannt, aber schlecht angewandt. Wir hätten bedenken sollen, dass auf den Bergen die Freiheit wohnt; also kann kein Korn dort wachsen. Die Göttin wohnt rentefrei bei uns; wir aber haben diese Praxis theuer bezahlen müssen. Romantik ist ein hübscher Nachtsch, wenn man satt ist.“ Bayrholder ist denn auch in späterer Zeit, im Jahre 1874, als er schon über sechzig war, auf die Prärie gezogen und hat auf einer Farm bei Tonica in Illinois seine freie Zeit dazu angewandt, um vor deutschen Farmern belehrende Vorträge zu halten und zu schriftstellern.

## II.

### *Volksphilosoph und Schriftsteller.*

Die ersten Zeiten in Amerika waren mühevoll, arbeitschwere Jahre gewesen, da ein gut Theil praktischer Kenntnisse gesammelt werden mussten, um einigermaßen Erfolg zu haben. Bayrholder hatte sich dieser Thätigkeit denn auch mit Fleiß hingeben, die Politik bot damals wenig Erfreuliches und der Fortschrittsfreund musste auf bessere Zeiten warten. Die kamen ja auch, als die republikanische Partei geboren wurde und der Kampf gegen die Sklaverei ernstlich betrieben werden konnte. Bayrholder schloss sich dieser Partei an, half bei der Erwählung Lincolns und unterstützte die Unions-Partei gegen die Rebellion. Sein ältester Sohn Karl zog als Freiwilliger mit in den Krieg. Als dann der Friede wieder hergestellt war, ging Bayrholder über die Grenzen seiner Partei, hinaus zu weiterer Reformarbeit. In den Jahren 1869 und 1870 hielt er Vorträge vor Farmern auf der Prärie bei Peru in Illinois und an einigen anderen Orten. Aus diesen Vorträgen entstand das Buch: „*Das Wesen des Universums und die Gesetze des Humanismus, dargestellt aus dem Standpunkt der Vernunft, von K. Th. Bayrholder; gedruckt bei Denhard und Witte, Ottawa, Ills., 1871.*“ Das Buch giebt in gedrängter Uebersicht eine klare Darstellung vom Universum und der Gesetze des Humanismus, wie sie sich der Autor vorstellte.

In seinen Vorträgen vor Farmern hatte er die einzelnen Abschnitte jedenfalls weiter ausgearbeitet und seinen Zuhörern deutlicher gemacht. Bayrhoffer war schon in Deutschland bemüht gewesen, die Wissenschaft ins Volk zu tragen. Professor Leo in Halle hatte in seinem Buche *Die Hegelingen* mit Anderen auch Bayrhoffer und dessen Buch *Die Idee und Geschichte der Philosophie* den deutschen Regierungen denunziert, weil darin betont war: „Die Philosophie müsse sich mehr herabsenken in die konkreten Sphären des Lebens und der empirischen Wissenschaft.“ In Marburg und Umgegend hatte er schon in den vierziger Jahren vor Bürgern und Bauern freie Vorträge gehalten, die ihn damals auf die Anklage-Bank gebracht hatten. An diese Thätigkeit knüpfte er nun auf der Prärie in Illinois wieder an und wirkte durch sein Buch auch in weiteren Kreisen. Sehr verbreitet ist das Werkchen nicht worden, es haftet hier allen unseren deutschen buchhändlerischen Unternehmungen die Unfertigkeit an. Es ist auch in anderen Dingen so, der moderne Fortschritt grenzt mitunter noch an das Mittelalter. Trotz der Setzmaschinen, welche in Amerika von dem Deutschen Mergenthaler erfunden wurden, trotz der vollendetsten Druck- und Falz-Maschinen, werden viele Zeitungen noch mit Handpressen und in wahrhaft primitiver Weise zum Druck gebracht. Der deutsche Schriftsteller hat hier mit undenklichen Schwierigkeiten zu kämpfen. Druck und Verbreitung erinnern noch an die ersten Zeiten des Buchdrucks in unsern deutschen Kreisen. Ein deutscher Autor in Amerika, will er hier seine Arbeit in die Oeffentlichkeit bringen, geht zu einem Zeitungsherausgeber oder in eine Druckerei und macht einen Kontrakt, ihm soviel hundert Exemplare gegen eine bestimmte Summe Geldes zu drucken. Hat er seine Bücher in den Händen, so muss er den Verkauf selbst besorgen. Er schickt davon nach grossen Städten oder ins Land, wo Deutsche wohnen, an Zeitungsherausgeber, Buchhändler, Apotheker u. s. w. Exemplare seines Buches und verlässt sich auf ihre Mitwirkung, um grösstentheils darin getäuscht zu werden. Schliesslich sucht er selbst an den Mann zu bringen, was er kann und

muss dann zufrieden sein, wenn er die Druckkosten wieder zurückbekommt. So geht es den meisten deutschen Schriftstellern in der Union und Ausnahmen von der Regel giebt es nur sehr wenige.

Auch Dan. Holly bei Peru, Illinois, welcher mit anderen Farmern Druck und Verbreitung des Buches *Das Wesen des Universums* von K. Th. Bayrhoffer unternommen hatte, ist es nicht besser ergangen, obwohl das Werk eine bessere Aufnahme verdient hätte.

### III.

#### *Bayrhoffer versus Heinzen.*

Bayrhoffer war kränklich geworden; er litt an einem chronischen Magenleiden und in Folge dessen an körperlicher Schwäche, sodass es ihm unmöglich wurde zu reisen und Vorträge zu halten, obwohl sein Geist ungeschwächt blieb. So arbeitete er denn für verschiedene Blätter, welche von seinen Beiträgen profitirten, da er immer etwas zum Nachdenken gab und auf seine Leser anregend wirkte. In Deutschland waren schon früher in der philosophischen Monatsschrift von Bergmann einige Abhandlungen aus seiner Feder erschienen, in welchen er sich von Hegel losgesagt hatte und seine neu gewonnenen Ansichten darlegte. Danach waren ihm die Religionsansichten der Menschen vielfach eine Welt unwissenschaftlicher, menschlicher Phantasie und er verlangte, dass die wissenschaftliche Erkenntniss an deren Stelle gesetzt werde, in einem Bunde des empirischen und philosophischen Denkens. Für *Harris' Journal of Speculative Philosophy* schrieb er die Abhandlungen *The Idea of Matter* und *The Idea of Mind*. Waren diese Arbeiten mehr für Gelehrte bestimmt, so bleibt er doch auch wieder seiner Maxime treu, für Popularisirung seiner erkannten Ideen zu sorgen.

In der *Neuen Zeit*, einer gediegenen Zeitung New Yorks, welche aber nur von kurzem Bestand war, veröffentlichte er Aufsätze über die Frauenfrage, in welchen er sich der Frauen annahm und ihre Rechte befürwortete. Die *Illinois Staatszeitung*,

*Der Freidenker, Sozialist* und andere Blätter enthielten sachliche und zum Denken anregende Aufsätze über die Arbeiterfrage. Doch am interessantesten waren seine Auseinandersetzungen mit Karl Heinzen im *Pionier* über Sozialismus und Kommunismus. Es ist behauptet worden, die Sozialdemokratie sei ein Produkt der grossen Städte und Fabriksdistrikte, wo die Arbeiter durch Noth zu Reformen gedrängt worden seien. Hier kam nun ein Professor der Philosophie auf seiner Farm im Hinterwalde auf ähnliche Gedanken, welche er dann in seiner Schrift: *Das Wesen des Universums* wissenschaftlich ordnete und sie in verschiedenen Aufsätzen vertrat, wodurch er mit dem radikalen Heinzen in einen Federkrieg verwickelt wurde. Heinzen, der Verfasser der radikalen Plattform, war ein Verfechter des Individualismus, seine stramme Persönlichkeit hätte sich nie unter die Herrschaft des Kommunismus gebeugt, denn in seinen Augen war Sozialdemokratie und Kommunismus eins. Bayrhoffer, mehr mild gestimmt, dabei doch fest in seinen Ansichten, versuchte auf den Kern der Sache einzugehen. Man müsse auch in sozialen Fragen eine Idee vor Augen haben, mit blossem „Flicken“ komme man nicht zum Ziele. Bayrhoffers Vorschlag bestand darin, dass Wirthschaftskommunen sich ausbreiten müssten über Stadt und Land, um die Produktion zu übernehmen, dass der Arbeiter dem Kapitalisten und Eigenthümer der Fabrik gegenüber, nicht mehr im Rückstande stehe und ihm sein gerechter Lohn zutheil werde. Dem absoluten Kommunismus war auch Bayrhoffer nicht zugehan. Doch Heinzen bestand auf seiner Ansicht, er verlangte Bayrhoffer sollte ihm an einem Beispiel klar machen, z. B. zeigen wie man in New York diese Wirthschaftskommunen einrichten könne, worauf ihm dieser erwiderte: „Wollen Sie den sogenannten Kommunismus und die Sozialdemokratie wirklich widerlegen, dann widerlegen Sie die Schriften Dührings. Hören Sie auf, allerhand Analogien für den Kampf herbeizuziehen, gehen Sie vielmehr direkt auf das System der Wirthschaftskommunen mit seiner ganzen demokratischen Umgebung los und lassen Sie dasselbe in Flammen aufgehen, sodass die Menschheit ein schönes

Schauspiel daran hat.“ So wogte der Kampf hin und her, an Aussöhnung oder Vergleich war nicht zu denken, nur die Leser hatten den Vortheil und konnten die Argumente Beider abwägen. Heinzen war übrigens in dieser Kontroverse nicht so diktatorisch, wie sonst wohl, er wusste, dass er einen ebenbürtigen Gegner hatte und einen Mann, der es sonst gut meinte. Aber so ganz ohne Invektiven ging es doch nicht ab, so, wenn Bayrhoffer meinte: „Sie hängen die Krätze, wie alle Reaktionäre, der Sozialdemokratie an, um sie kratzen zu können“, und Heinzen ihm erwiderte: „Er möge es ihm nicht zu sehr erschweren, zwischen ihm und den anderen kommunistischen Gegnern zu unterscheiden.“

Die beiden Disputanten sind schon lange zur ewigen Ruhe gebettet, wie auch Eugen Richter, der grosse Parlamentarier des Deutschen Reichstages, welcher einst gegen Lasalle und Bebel schrieb und in seinen *Sozialdemokratischen Zukunftsbildern* das leistete, wozu Heinzen Professor Bayrhoffer angehalten hatte, freilich um zu zeigen, wie unpraktisch und unausführbar der Kommunismus ist.

## SCHWAELMER HAUSSPRUECHE.

Was unsere neue Heimat von unserer alten so wesentlich unterscheidet, ist der in Deutschland auf einen hohen Grad entwickelte Individualismus gegenüber der amerikanischen Einförmigkeit und Eintönigkeit. Nicht nur jeder deutsche Staat ist von dem anderen verschieden, sondern jede Stadt, jede Landschaft, jeder Flecken und jedes Dörfchen hat ein eigenes Gesicht, das dem geübten Physiognom eine lange Geschichte von der Entwicklung eines Charakters erzählt.

Dieser Individualismus der verschiedenen Staaten und Gemeinden ist auf's Engste verbunden mit dem Individualismus des Einzelnen, sei er Fürst, Ritter, Bürger oder Bauer. Jeder hat seinen eigenen Charakter und lässt ihn bewusst oder unbewusst zur freien Geltung nach aussen kommen, z. B. durch den Bau seines Hauses, das gerade *seinen* Bedürfnissen entspricht, durch seine Kleidung, die *seinen* Geschmack zeigt, u. dgl. m.

Eine der Gegenden Deutschlands, wo die individuelle Eigentümlichkeit der Bewohner vornehmlich ausgeprägt ist, liegt in Hessen-Cassel und ist das liebliche Schwalmthal. Dort finden wir noch die alten malerischen Trachten, dort singt man noch die alten Volkslieder, und dort sind die Dorfbilder noch nicht durch rote Backsteinhäuser nach dem in der Gründerzeit so beliebt gewordenen und noch nicht ganz überwundenen Schema mit dem Motto „billig und schlecht“ verschändet worden. Dort können wir auch sehen, wie die scharf ausgeprägte Eigenart der *Gemeinden* Hand in Hand mit der scharf ausgeprägten Eigenart der *Einzelnen* geht, oder eigentlich von dieser bedingt ist. Das zeigt sich dem Besucher z. B. durch den grossen Reichtum der verschiedenen Formen von Haus, Stall und Scheune, die bei jedem Hof wieder neu und eigenartig ausgeprägt sind — nichtsdestoweniger aber in ihrer Gesamtheit eine Harmonie ergeben.

Von der Schwälmer Bauart und ihren Eigentümlichkeiten kann ich nun leider keine Vorstellung geben, da ich zu wenig mit Bautechnik vertraut bin. Doch habe ich mir bei meinen wiederholten Besuchen in dieser Gegend einige Haussprüche notirt, die meine Behauptung von der Eigenart erhärten sollen.

Die Haussprüche sind im deutschen Dorfe etwas Selbstverständliches, doch sind es gewöhnlich fromme Sprüche, die der Bibel oder dem Kirchenlied entlehnt sind und so nur wenig von dem Charakter des Hausbesitzers verraten. In der Schwalm jedoch finden wir diese immerwiederkehrenden Sprüche und Reime nur ganz vereinzelt. An ihre Stelle ist das eigene Wort des Erbauers oder jeweiligen Besitzers getreten —sicherlich ein vollgültiger, ja wünschenswerter Ersatz.

So fand ich in Leinefelde folgenden Vers, dessen humorvolles, stolzes Selbstbewusstsein keinen Kommentar braucht:

Die einz'ge Frau, die sagen kann,  
Ich hab' erbaut den dritten Bau,  
Ist Margarete Lingemann,  
Des Bauherrn zweite Ehefrau.  
Sie kann erzählen, was es kostet,  
Wie sehr die Hausfrau ist geplagt,  
Die Würste sind nicht gerostet,  
Es hat auch manchen schönen Taler gekostet;  
Wenn ihr's nicht glaubt, geht hin und seht.

Ueber einem Pferdestall war dieser Reim:

Hafer und Heu,  
Das ist die beste Futterei,  
Und ein munt'rer Knecht dabei.

Im selben Orte fand ich noch folgende Sprüche:

Es its kein besser Ding noch List,  
Als wer seiner Zunge Meister ist.



Und:

Ein guter Ruhm, der wahr ist,  
 Ein Essen, das fein gar ist,  
 Ein Weib, das guter Haar ist,  
 Und unter zwanzig Jahr' ist:  
 Wenn dieses beisammen da ist,  
 Das heisst ein Glück, das rar ist.

An einem Hause hatte sich ein Leinefelder Dorfkünstler  
 mit einigen Blumenstöcken in schönen irdenen Töpfen verewigt.  
 Daneben stand dieser treffliche Reim:

Blumen malen ist gemein,  
 Aber den Geruch zu geben,  
 Das kann Gott allein.

Aus Steina ist der folgende schöne Spruch:

Besiehe deinen Lebenslauf:  
 Der Mensch geht wie die Rose auf,  
 Und fället wie die Blätter ab,  
 Wenn man dich trägt in das Grab.

In Schönborn fand ich mit der Jahreszahl 1764:

Leide, meide, schweig', vertrage,  
 Jedem deine Not nicht klage,  
 An dem Höchsten nicht verzage.

Und aus dem Jahre 1834:

Denen soll die Sonne scheinen,  
 Die es treu und redlich meinen;  
 Denen ist der Mond verdeckt,  
 Den'n der Schalk im Herzen steckt.

Höchst originell ist jedenfalls dieser Vers, der über einer Schlafkammer eines Bauernhauses in Gunkelshausen steht:

Lass' der Welt ihr Recht, —  
Hier liegt der Bauer und auch der Knecht,  
Ihr Weltweisen, tret' herbei,  
Sagt mir, welches der Herr oder Knecht mag sein.

Leider hatte ich zu wenig Zeit, um meine Sammlung noch zu vergrössern. Doch hoffe ich auch mit diesem Wenigen eine Vorstellung von der Eigenart der Schwälmer wenigstens ungefähr gegeben zu haben. Sollte mein kleiner Aufsatz gar in einem der Leser die Lust erwecken, selbst nach den Eigentümlichkeiten des primitiven Landvolkes zu forschen, so würde meine geringe Mühe reich belohnt sein.

G. C. L. SCHUCHARD.

School of Philosophy, Columbia University.

## AN AMERICAN ETHNOGRAPHICAL SURVEY.

The plan of an American Ethnographical Survey has been evolving for a decade and a half. In the year 1888 the present writer published a comparative study of the dialect of the Germans of Pennsylvania, basing his results upon data collected in the Rhenish Palatinate in their relation to the German dialect spoken in Pennsylvania. At that time it became clear that even in the German population of the State more or less sharply defined dialect territories, or speech islands, still existed. Some ten years later a definite plan was formulated for special investigation not only into the language, but also into the other cultural survivals of the Germans in this country. Circulars were accordingly issued from time to time in the quarterly *Americana Germanica*, asking for answers to specific inquiries touching these subjects. Meanwhile much progress had been made by other countries in this and related fields. The growing activity of the various Ethnological and Ethnographical Societies of Europe, England and America had made continuous advance in many directions. The epochal work of Wencker, conducted under the patronage of the German Government and with the co-operation of some thirty thousand German schoolmasters and published, in part, in Wencker's *Sprachatlass*, marking the present boundaries of the German dialects of the lower and middle Rhine the commission appointed to establish the boundary line of German and French speech as spoken along the Franco-German border and the dialect studies in Switzerland represented in the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* and the more recent collections of Swiss German texts found in Sutermeister's *Mundart-Literatur*, as well as related studies in the dialects of other German

provinces, all placed the Germans in the forefront of such philological and glottographical studies. Then followed meanwhile the mammoth plan of the *English Dialect Dictionary* under the editorship of Professor Wright, successor to the chair so long held by Professor Max Müller. In 1898 the following great societies of England,

The Anthropological Institute,  
The Folklore Society,  
The Society of Antiquaries of London,  
The Royal Statistical Society,  
The Dialect Society,  
The Cambrian Archæological Society,  
The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,  
The Royal Irish Academy,

united, under the auspices of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in the projection of an "Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom," following up the work of the Photographic Survey of Birmingham and other places. This Survey contemplated the examination of some three hundred and fifty selected centres throughout the United Kingdom and issued circulars soliciting information concerning the following general subjects:

1. Physical Types of the Inhabitants.
2. Current Traditions and Beliefs.
3. Peculiarities of Dialect.
4. Monuments and Other Remains of Ancient Culture.
5. Historical Evidences as to Continuity of Race.

Closely related to the researches in the English dialects, a number of Americans organized the American Dialect Society for the purpose of studying American English. One of the officers of this Society, Professor George Hempl, set about the study of the territorial distribution of English dialects in the United States.

In April, 1902, the present writer presented the plan of an American Ethnographical Survey before the general meeting of the American Philosophical Society. The plan was definitely formulated and a sum of money was collected under the auspices of the German American Historical Society and the German American Alliance and an expedition was sent out during the summer of 1902 to investigate the history and condition of the German and other settlements of Pennsylvania and to furnish incidentally accurate data for an estimate of the cost of such a survey, extending over the entire State. The results of this survey were most gratifying and encouraged the representatives of the enterprise to present a bill asking for State aid to the amount of twenty thousand dollars to defray the expenses of an Ethnographical Survey of Pennsylvania. This bill, not appearing to have a commercial value, was stifled in the committee. Another opportunity, however, was offered by the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Commission of the Jamestown Exposition (of which Governor Pennypacker was President) to incorporate some of the ideas of the Survey in the Pennsylvania History Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition.

#### CHARACTER AND PLAN OF SURVEY.

The term "Ethnographical" instead of "Ethnological" was selected because the Survey has the clearly defined character of a *Culture Census*, and differs accordingly, from all preceding surveys both in aim and method. It will be admitted, doubtless, by most specialists in these lines, that much of the ethnological and ethnographical work done on both sides of the Atlantic has been more or less *antiquarian* in character with, to be sure, here and there many brilliant comparative studies of specific subjects. It will be noted that even the proposed Ethnographical Survey of the United Kingdom, referred to above, selected certain central

points for its inquiry, instead of sweeping the entire territory of the relatively small compass of the British Isles, with a view to mapping and charting the speech and culture boundaries and overlappings. The American Ethnographical Survey, on the contrary, contemplates a sweeping and exhaustive examination by the census method of the entire territory selected and the collection of all available data relating to public and private documents, domestic occupations, trades and industries, geographical distribution of race elements, education, politics, and sociology, language, literature, architecture, and domestic life; and upon the basis of these data the construction of maps, charts, and tables, illustrating the migration and interaction of the several race elements in the American population and thus furnish a *culture census* of the country at large.

The terms "American," "American people," "American Nation," "American Commonwealth," are stupendous composites and mean something different in every State of the Union. There has been a strong tendency among writers of American History to treat the History of the United States as a more or less consistent whole. Fortunately special investigation is tending toward one of two extremes, namely, toward purely *documentary* history on the one hand or toward *antiquarian* local study on the other. It can hardly be said as yet that we have entered the field of *culture history* as a distinct science, save in the field of the aboriginal races. There is manifest to be sure an interest, more keen than well-informed, in the general race problems of America. Such works as Houston Stewart Chamberlain's recent study of the Heirs of the Ages, and Michaud's article in a recent volume of the *Century* are based either upon very general phenomena or upon insufficient data, so that both method and generalizations are often wide of the truth. The broad philosophical generalization is interesting in itself, but has no scientific value unless based upon specific and accurate and

minute data. The composite photograph presents an interesting picture as the camera reproduces composite types, but we have no evidence that such a composite has been or ever will be reproduced by the processes of natural generation. Nature reproduces varieties by processes as yet imperfectly understood and makes combinations by laws as yet only dimly apprehended and in all of her reproductive processes manifests a principle of evolution giving endless variety without perhaps a single case of exact duplication.

If we wish to know what the influences of a given race element or of a group of race elements in their interaction are in the process of naturalization, why should we go to those remote periods, which have left but scanty records of their events, while the greatest naturalization process the world has ever known is now going on before our eyes in our own land, offering an untold wealth of fact only awaiting the investigator? If we wish to trace the influence of the Jew upon the history of commerce, trade, and finance, the inexhaustible sources of material in American history furnish the inquirer with materials far richer than those scanty records of the Middle Ages. If we wish to test the persistence, endurance, commercial or industrial prowess or the state craft or intellectual fibre, the moral or physical character of a given nationality, where can it be more advantageously studied than in this seething cauldron, which is doing over the nationalities of the old world into the commonwealths and free republics of America?

It is a striking fact that we are relatively more thoroughly informed concerning the culture of the aboriginal races of America than about those more recent peoples, who have built up the life and institutions of the American Republic. Of these various nationalities which have planted the seeds of a new civilization in American soil and, by the blending of ethnical traditions, produced a type of civilization, which bids fair to outrank the venerable culture of the Old World, we have, at best, only general

documentary information. What accurate data have we in detail of the life even of the successors of the Puritans in New England, of the Cavaliers of Virginia, of the Dutch on the Hudson, of the Swedes on the Delaware, of the French in Louisiana and in the Mississippi Valley and in Canada, of the Spaniards in the South and Southwest, of the Germans, who have in the course of a century and a half grown to a tenth of our population, and in the various States of the Union engrafted a new culture upon our English stalk and bid fair in the near future to bring the great American Republic into cultural rivalry with the great German Empire? While we have scanty information of these older race elements in our population, we are still more scantily instructed as to the actual significance, tendencies, and possibilities of more recent immigrations, such as the Hungarians, Poles, Italians, Russian Jews, and hosts of others, who are now the main stays in many of our industrial interests.

It is well known that whole districts of many of our large cities are occupied by these newly imported foreign elements, speaking their own language, retaining their own habits of life, and, to all intents and purposes, forming miniature foreign settlements under the protection of the American flag. What do we know of the actual process by which these elements are Americanized? It is possible, that in the near future a President with a German, Italian or other foreign name may sit in the White House, just as now a Knickerbocker directs the Ship of State; but of the circuitous course leading from the Bowery, or the corner fruit stand, to Congress or the White House, we have as yet but an inadequate account.

Then, too, the relative efficiency of these race elements requires investigation. Their capacity for adaptation to new conditions is varied, their religious, moral, ethical, social, and political points of view are of the greater importance in the growth of American institutions. In a general way we are most ready to pass judgment and form generalizations upon the



relative merits of the respective nationalities, but it must be evident to every careful observer that present conditions alone are not safe indications of race tendencies which have developed during the course of one or more generations and that the real interpretation of the race propensities can be determined only by historical treatment of the life of these nationalities from and even before their arrival upon American shores.

#### CULTURE CENSUS.

It is doubtless sufficiently clear, that a thorough analysis and interpretation of the civilization of our American Republic cannot be made until a systematic plan for collecting data, both in the present and earlier periods has been inaugurated. The proposed American Ethnographical Survey presents such a plan. The work is to be conducted after the manner of a census, and to be divided into two separate problems, both of which could be solved at the same time.

The first phase of the work contemplated is a *Race Census*, representing the ethnical distribution and cultural characteristics of the population as it now exists; and upon the basis of the data thus collected the construction of an *Ethnographical Map*, showing not only the numbers of the several foreign elements, which can be gained roughly from the United States Census, but also the specific cultural features of these race elements, such as language, occupation, industrial distribution, as they actually exist.

The second phase of the survey consists in collecting, in connection with the census above mentioned, all available data for the reconstruction of the race conditions in the earlier periods of our history. One most important result of this work would be the construction of an Ethnographical Census of the colonial period, together with race maps showing the distribution of the foreign elements in different epochs of the colonial period,

thus furnishing the now missing census up to the time of the first systematic census made by the government.

In connection with this census and series of ethnographical maps it will be possible to show the causes influencing the geographical distribution of these various nationalities in the American colonies and to trace their migration, by the closer study of local geography and official and private documents, such as land warrants, deeds, tax lists, military rolls, and the like, and thus present graphically to the eye the results of the interaction of geographical industrial, commercial, and economic conditions in the respective periods and localities.

#### THE PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

##### THE CONESTOGA EXPEDITION, 1902.

In the summer of 1902 a preliminary test of this survey was made by the inauguration of the Conestoga Expedition. The work of the expedition was limited for the most part to those parts of interior Pennsylvania first settled by the Germans. The plan of work was to select a small territory, which could be compassed within the brief space of the vacation, and to make a thorough house-to-house canvass. Specific question blanks were prepared in advance, asking for the name of the owner or tenant, of the wife and the earlier members of both sides of the family, the origin of the respective branches of the family, the names and number of children, the type of house and barn, the present and traditional occupation of the family, the religious persuasion, the habit of dress, the political and social attitude, beliefs and superstitions, physical and other family traits, the language, the fare and mode of cooking, education, etc.

As a result of this thorough-going inspection a great mass of interesting and valuable material was collected and is now presented in brief form. From the data thus obtained, it is possible to make many generalizations.

In the settlement of a new country geography, both political and physical, plays an important rôle, determining to a great degree the distribution of the population. Political geography, in turn, often undergoes great changes in consequence of its own original determinative influence upon early settlement. The United States, as related in the colonial period to the geography of Spain, England and France, will furnish a good example of this. The Civil War, partly racial and social, and partly industrial and economical, will furnish another instance in which the attempt to change geographical boundaries proved futile. Indeed, the race factor, apart from the part of the negro, in the Civil War, still awaits adequate treatment. The influence of the Germans in forming the flame of abolition sentiment and in actually aiding in the victories of the North were most significant. The great force of the German press of America in the hands of men, who had themselves sought political liberty in the new Republic, was directed against the institution of slavery.

*Physical Geography.* The selection of a place of settlement is determined to a great extent by physical geography. The quality of the soil, the location of waterways, valleys and mountains—all influence. Accordingly the Conestoga Expedition found ample material, showing how these geographical forces had affected the distribution of race elements. In the fertile arable lands of the valleys were found the thrifty German farmers. In the mine regions, where iron and other ores made mining profitable in the colonial period, were found the Welsh. In the regions where distilling was in vogue was the Irishman. In the centres of industry and trade and on the frontiers of enterprise were found the Englishman, the Yankee and the Scotch Irishman.

The landmarks of these early settlements are still preserved in the local geography, in the names of persons and places.

*Personal Names.* It is a striking fact that the country regions, notwithstanding the flux and flow of population incident upon modern progress, have retained conservatively the names of the ealier families. The proportion of family names represented in the districts examined, was as follows:

IN THE TOWNSHIP.

Proportion of German names in 100. . . .	79
Proportion of English, etc., names in 100.	19
Proportion of French names in 100. . . . .	2
	—
	100

*Place Names.* In the case of place names the German was found in many instances still in local use, although the map no longer has any trace of the German name, but employs the more recent English instead. Of local names still found on the map and indicating original race settlements, the following are significant:

1. Names of foreign places whence the settlers came.—*Strasburg, Heidelberg, Manheim, Lititz, Lancaster, York, Little Britain, Caerenwon, Colerainey, Dunmore, Cumberland, Donegal, Conroy.*
2. Names pointing to Biblical traditions of the sects.—*Bethlehem, Nazareth, Lebanon, Gnadenhütten, Emaus, Ephrata, Mt. Nebo, Bethesda;* of also *Eden, Providence, Paradise.*
3. Local Color. *Hosensack, Klafferthal, Hesseldal, German Valley, Grofsteddel, Habentown, Schafersteddel.*

CENSUS OF THE CONESTOGA EXPEDITION, 1902.

A preliminary report of the Conestoga Expedition was published in the first number of GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, Jan. 1903. Since that time the statistics gathered have been collated and may be presented more in detail. It is the more opportune that these statistics should now take the form of an official report, since the work of the survey has found a wider recognition in

the State, in the appointment of its Director and Albert Cook Myers to prepare the Pennsylvania History Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition of 1907. What the original Conestoga Expedition inaugurated will thus, in an extended form, find expression in a series of historical maps, showing the movements and racial elements of the population of Pennsylvania and Western Maryland and the great valley of Virginia. To the results as represented in these maps, the independent studies of Mr. Myers in constructing maps showing frontier lines of settlement have been an important contribution.

The work of the Conestoga Expedition centered in the Conestoga and Pequea Valleys of Lancaster County, more particularly in the Township of Strasburg, of which a careful, cultural census was made, with a view to showing the actual survivals of the life of the original settlers, the statistics for which will be given farther on. In addition to these statistics, investigations were carried on in various directions throughout the country by the several members of the expedition. Much of this work is still going on, and will be published in more extended form when completed. Another member of the expedition, John A. Bole, made a thorough investigation at his own expense of the history of the German Community Settlement at Ecomemy, Pa., the results of which have been published in the GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, and are reprinted in a volume of the Monograph Series, *Americana Germanica*.

## CULTURAL CENSUS 1902.

		STRASBURG BOROUGH	STASBURG TOWNSHIP
Families . . . . .		233 <sup>1</sup>	335
Origin (as determined by census taker)	Man	German . . . . .	242
		Swiss . . . . .	16
		Other <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	52
	Wife	German . . . . .	213
		Swiss . . . . .	13
		Other . . . . .	83

<sup>1</sup> Fifteen additional families were not examined for various reasons; three were negro families, three refused to give data, nine were away or were not seen for good reasons.

<sup>2</sup> Scotch, Irish, English, etc.

CULTURAL CENSUS 1902.

		STRASBURG BOROUGH	STRASBURG TOWNSHIP	
Origin (as known by the people them- selves)	German	Families . . . . .	28	87
		Individuals . . . . .	38	
	Swiss	Families . . . . .	10	9
		Other	Families . . . . .	14
		Individuals . . . . .	30	
	Occupations	Farmers . . . . .	41	222
Carpenters . . . . .		21	5	
Painters . . . . .		14	1	
Laborers . . . . .		12	37	
Tobacco Workers . . . . .		12	1	
Cattlemen (Drovers, etc.) . . . . .		7	0	
Millers . . . . .		6	9	
Merchants (Storekeepers, etc.) . . . . .		6	1	
Bakers . . . . .		5	0	
Butchers . . . . .		5	2	
Bricklayers . . . . .		5	0	
Cabinetmakers . . . . .		3	0	
Druggists . . . . .		3	0	
Coach Painters . . . . .		2	0	
Shoemakers . . . . .		2	4	
Miners . . . . .		2	0	
Plasterers . . . . .		2	0	
Blacksmiths . . . . .		2	3	
Jewelers . . . . .		2	0	
Insurance Agents . . . . .		2	0	
Driver . . . . .		1	0	
Confectioner . . . . .		1	0	
Postmaster . . . . .		1	0	
Liveryman . . . . .		1	0	
Dressmaker . . . . .		1	0	
Veterinary . . . . .		1	0	
Minister . . . . .		0	1	
Brickmaker . . . . .		0	1	
Engineer . . . . .		0	1	
Plumber . . . . .		0	1	
Dentists . . . . .		2	0	
Tinsmiths . . . . .		2	0	
Wagonmakers . . . . .		0	1	
Coachmakers . . . . .		2	1	
Saddlers . . . . .		3	0	
Hotelkeepers . . . . .		3	0	
Contractor . . . . .		1	0	
Bank Cashier . . . . .		1	0	
Bank Tellers . . . . .		2	0	
Journalist . . . . .		1	0	
Masons . . . . .		1	5	
Weavers . . . . .		1	1	
Railroad Men . . . . .		1	0	
Coopers . . . . .		2	0	
Teachers . . . . .		1	1	
Presbyterian Clergyman . . . . .		1	0	
Methodist Clergyman . . . . .		1	0	
Sexton . . . . .		1	0	
Florists . . . . .		1	1	
Surveyor . . . . .		1	0	

## CULTURAL CENSUS 1902.

		STRASBURG BOROUGH		STRASBURG TOWNSHIP	
Religious Status	Methodists	Families . . . . .	45 <sup>3</sup>		18
		Individuals . . . . .	18		12
	Presbyterians	Families . . . . .	13		2
		Individuals . . . . .	20		8
	Old Mennonites	Families . . . . .	18		78
		Individuals . . . . .	25		23
	New Mennonites	Families . . . . .	15 <sup>4</sup>		16
		Individuals . . . . .	9		11
	United Brethren	Families . . . . .	3		8
		Individuals . . . . .	2		13
	Lutherans	Families . . . . .	11		12
		Individuals . . . . .	8		4
	German Reformed	Families . . . . .	4		9
		Individuals . . . . .	0		0
	Episcopalians	Families . . . . .	1		13
		Individuals . . . . .	1		0
	Catholics	Families . . . . .	0		3
Individuals . . . . .		2		0	
Quakers	Families . . . . .	0		1	
	Individuals . . . . .	1		0	
Baptists	Families . . . . .	1		4	
	Individuals . . . . .	1		1	
River Brethren (Dunkers)	Families . . . . .	0		6	
	Individuals . . . . .	0		4	
Non-Communi- cants	Families . . . . .	20		67	
	Individuals . . . . .	66		42	
Dress	{	Plain . . . . .	37		96
		Liberal . . . . .	3		3
		Worldly . . . . .	9		0
Superstition	{	Believe in the signs of the moon . . . . .	27		19
		Powwowers (Actual practioners) . . . . .	8		4
Politics	{	Vote . . . . .	179		249
		Do not vote . . . . .	9		24
Attitude on Social Ques- tions	Strict	Families . . . . .	66		107
		Individuals . . . . .	13		0
	Liberal	Families . . . . .	88		57
		Individuals . . . . .	8		0
Language	Speak Penna. Ger- man regularly	Families . . . . .	8		34
		Individuals . . . . .	27		66
	Speak Penna. Ger- man occasionally	Families . . . . .	36		27
		Individuals . . . . .	19		39
	Understand Penna. German	Families . . . . .	22		41
		Individuals . . . . .	33		85
	Speak English only	Families . . . . .	63		61
Individuals . . . . .		46		75	
Speak High German . . . . .		1		6 <sup>4</sup>	

<sup>3</sup> Fifteen families and four individuals of these Methodists were not connected with the New Mennonite families.

<sup>4</sup> Seven of these were the female heads of the families.

<sup>5</sup> Ten of these were female heads of the families.

<sup>6</sup> Lately immigrated from Germany.

Schnitz un nepp . . . . .	0 . . . . .	23
Fassnachts . . . . .	76 . . . . .	81
Deitschakäs . . . . .	0 . . . . .	5
Haffekäs . . . . .	6 . . . . .	40
Kopkäs . . . . .	9 . . . . .	35
Ballekäs . . . . .	0 . . . . .	0
Schmirkäs . . . . .	82 . . . . .	84
Lädwërëk . . . . .	24 . . . . .	74
Pannhäs . . . . .	71 . . . . .	74
Sauerkraut . . . . .	85 . . . . .	87

DIALECT WORDS, FAMILIA IN BOTH FORMS.

Bämgarde~bungert	}	. . . . . 66 . . . . . 96
Blooge~zackere		
Fahrt~falder		
Förbë~förbau~förschusz		
dürche~dërche		
wëgelche~pädche		
Emer~kível		
Dunkler~triver~		
Wolkicher (dag)		
Däfe~dunke		
Ladern~lützer		
Ebmöls~alsemöl		
Halfter~kopschtell		
Is~isch		
Ich (mr) dīn(e)~dūn(e) diminutive— <i>li</i> or <i>che</i>		

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STATISTICS.

*Ratio of Answers.* It will be found that the total of answers given to the several questions is by no means equal to the number of families or individuals questioned. This is explained by the fact that in many cases the individuals did not know what to answer, or, because of the newness of the questions, were reluctant to answer them. The figures here given represent the answers which were recorded. While it was thus not possible to get absolute completeness under some rubrics, the figures obtained will prove valuable as indicating at least the proportions of the population represented in a certain rubric; as, for example, in the case of those who wear the plain dress, in which case it may be assumed that the remainder of the population wear the ordinary "worldly" dress. As this was an entirely private census, unauthorized by any official authority, it is surprising that so few families declined outright to answer the questions. More-



over, it is not to be supposed that refusal indicates an ignorant family; on the contrary, some of the most notable cases of refusal were met with in families of the highest intelligence in the township.

*Size of Families.* An account was also taken during the census of the number of living children in each family. These statistics show that the great majority of families had from two (2) to eight (8) children. In the borough there were only 27 families with but one child each, and 27 having two children each; 26 having 3 children each; 19, of 4 each; 14, of 5 each; 11, of 6 each; 3, of 7 each; 6, of 8 each; 4, of 9 each; 2, of 10 each; 1, of 11. In the township there were 41 families, of 1 each; 46, of 2 each; 38, of 3 each; 38, of 4 each; 21, of 5 each; 19, of 6 each; 17, of 7 each; 18, of 8 each; 5, of 9 each; 4, of 10 each; 2, of 11 each; 2, of 12 each. These figures give no immediate alarm of race suicide among the German descendants of this region.

*Origin of Families.* It will be noted that after summing up all the families whose origin has been determined, there remains a small percentage (something like a tenth) unaccounted for. This means that these families could not be traced directly to German, Swiss, Scotch, Irish, English, or Welsh origin from the data at hand. It is a striking fact that relatively few had personal knowledge, or even tradition of their origin. Compare, for example (in the borough), the 141 male heads of families, and 122 female, whose origin the census-taker determined to be German, with the 28 families and 38 individuals who knew that they were of German origin. This disparity shows a number of interesting facts. (1) How completely the early German settlers severed their tradition from the Fatherland. (2) The general laxity in keeping family records, particularly in the case of the quietistic sects. (3) The low grade of intelligence of the rank and file. The desire on the part of the masses to live an obscure, uneventful life, and the tendency to conceal their German origin in the case of those who came into touch with

public affairs, doubtless added to this indifference concerning their origin.

*Occupation.* The statistics show a surprising variety of trades and occupations, even in this isolated country district, and give a good impression of the complex character of even simple country life. It will be seen that about one-sixth of the residents of the borough is made up of farmers, not all of whom are retired farmers. We have here, doubtless, an instructive survival of the South German village life, for a number of these farmers in the borough still carry on their farms in the township, after the fashion of the South German peasant; except that in the case of Strasburg, the farms are vastly larger. As might be expected, many trades are confined to the borough. Nevertheless, the township is well supplied with such artisans as carpenters, shoemakers and blacksmiths. There was an unmistakable trace here of the German tradition of passing on the trade from one generation to the next, in the same family. The large number of children, however, made it necessary to take up other occupations. One of the most notable of these "hereditary" occupations is to be found in the case of a family which has for generations been noted for the best doctors in the country.

*Religious Status.* It is a most interesting fact that the Borough of Strasburg shows a close contest in point of numbers between the Old and New Mennonites on the one hand, and the Methodists and Presbyterians on the other. The Presbyterian influence is only such as can be easily explained by the presence of the Scotch Irish in the locality. The Methodists, however, have made actual conquest, taking over a number of members from original Mennonite families, it being a natural step from the tenets of the Mennonites to the beliefs of the Methodists, when once the plain dress and conservative Mennonite ways have been given up. The Mennonites were originally the dominant element in this locality, but their combined influence has been weakened by the organization of the New Mennonite Church. It will be

noted, however, that the Old Mennonites are still strong in the borough, even in this township, which represents a variety of other religious elements.

*Dress.* One of the most interesting things in the appearance of the country people of Lancaster County is their plain dress, which exhibits three different types; the Mennonite type, the still more primitive Amish type, and the Dunker type. In point of dress the borough is much less conservative than the township, having 37 adherents of plain dress as compared with 96 in the township. It is to be noted, however, that many families, particularly the female members, wear the plain dress, without being actual members of a plain sect. Indeed, a family misfortune is likely to force them from worldly habiliments into the churchly plain garb. It should not be concluded, however, that "plain" is synonymous with unattractive, for in the case of the young Mennonite maiden the Mennonite dress is highly becoming, and most attractive, allowing of a wide variety of color, and material, the "plainness" being confined to the pattern of the garments. Even among the "hook and eye" Amish, the young folks indulge in gay colors, thus relieving the monotonous externals of their patriarched life.

*Superstition.* The full extent of the persistence of superstition will appear in a separate treatise soon to be published by a member of the expedition. We only note here two or three of the most general forms of superstition. A considerable number of people still believe in the signs of the moon, and observe them in planting, sowing, butchering, and the like. As the statistics show, however, the percentage is relatively small, although on this point the answers are less trustworthy.

*Powwowing.* The most interesting survival of old superstitious folk customs is doubtless that of powwowing, called in Pennsylvania, German "Brauche." Strange as it may seem, even the most intelligent people have been known to turn from the practicing physician to the powwow doctor for treatment, particularly in such ailments as burns, chills, and especially in

cases of "abnemme" (marasmus), the cure of which seems to be one of the specialties of the pow-wower. As will be seen from the statistics, eight powwowers were found in the Borough of Strasburg alone, and four in the township, making a round dozen, one powwower to fifty families. Two kinds of powwowing were noted. One consisting of rubbing the parts affected, and repeating the spell without further formalities; the other of using potions made of herbs, etc., in connection with the treatment. These facts are sufficient to justify the general protest made by practicing physicians against the persistent practice of folk medicine, especially in the second form mentioned above.

*Politics.* The old prejudice against voting is fast disappearing. As the statistics show, a relatively small proportion refuse to vote. Among these are the ministers of the Mennonites and other plain sects. We have here a good example of the influence of economic interests overriding religious scruples. An interesting form of this is to be found in school politics, where some of the plain sects prove themselves quite equal to the tactics of the professional politicians. This is illustrated by the case of a school entirely in the hands of the sect. By skilful manipulation the school board was made up of members of the sect, the teacher was the son of one of the members, and the pupils seemed to be without exception from the same sect, as teacher and pupils alike all wore the plain garb.

*Social Questions.* The attitude of these people on social questions shows that there is a strong liberalizing process going on. The questions particularly inquired about for the statistics were *dancing, cards, theaters, circuses, and the like*. The census takers had not the courage to go very minutely into the question of drink. It was not necessary, however, to ask questions on this subject, as the thrift of the inns furnished ample evidence of liberality. As might be expected, the borough was relatively more liberal than the township in regard to social questions, although a considerable number, even of the country people, patronize the circus and even the theater, and multitudes attend

the county fair, which is often more demoralizing than either circus or theater.

*Language.* The most interesting feature, perhaps, in the life of these people is their language. A special effort was made in the census to collect accurate statistics on this subject. Inasmuch as the people are sometimes unwilling to admit that they speak the Pennsylvania German dialect, an effort was made by the census takers to find out indirectly to what extent the dialect was used. This could be done either by speaking the dialect to the people, or by inquiring as to the use of certain dialect words. The language data were taken under two heads: (1) The general use of language or dialect; (2) the special use of characteristic German dialect words. A comparison of the numerical results on the use of dialect in general will show that Pennsylvania German has almost ceased to be a regular family speech in the borough, but is still used by a considerable number of individuals, and, occasionally, by a still larger number of families; while in the township four times as many families and nearly three times as many individuals, use it as their daily speech, with a large contingent in both borough and township, who do not speak German, understand it when spoken. As the statistics show, the majority of the families in the borough, easily a fourth in the township, speak English only. How astonishingly slight the effect of later German immigration has been in this region can be seen from the fact that only one family in the borough, and four in the township were found still speaking high German which they had brought with them from the Fatherland; and even in the speech of the families living in the township there were strong traces of the Pennsylvania German dialect.

An interesting case of the influence of language was observed in an old native-born Pennsylvania German of Strasburg, who spoke the German Dialect perfectly, and English with perfect Irish accent. When asked where he acquired this Irish speech, he said he had learned it from Irishmen, who worked in his father's distillery, when he was a boy. These Irishmen corrected his Germanized English after their Irishized English norm.

*Dialectal Variation.* Considerable attention was given to variation in the German dialect of the German region, particularly of Lancaster County. A list of some 200 dialectal test words was collected, and from these a small list of some 15 characteristic words with their equivalents used as the basis of statistics in Strasburg town and township. It was found practically impossible to distinguish in favor of either of the dialectal equivalents in this particular locality, because, in the flux and flow of the population, both sets of words had become familiar, having been found in 66 cases in the borough and 96 in the township in indiscriminate use. An examination, however, over the counties of Lancaster, Lebanon and Berks, made it possible to determine varieties in the so-called Pennsylvania German dialect. These results will appear in print later in the form of a dialect dictionary, which is now in preparation.

*Surviving German Dishes.* One of the indelible marks which the old German life has left in Pennsylvania, and even other parts of the country, is the survival of a number of distinctly German forms of food. Borough and township alike, in our census, show the persistence of these German dishes in the fare of the present day. In the borough, four articles competed for the supremacy: Sauerkraut, made in 85 cases; schmierkase, found in 82 cases; fassnachts, 76 cases; pannhaus, 71 cases; as compared with 87 sauerkraut, 84 schmierkase, 81 fassnacht, and 74 pannhaus, in the township. It will be noted further that "*ladwerck*" (apple butter) has only about one-third of the vogue in the borough that it has in the country, which is explained by the lack of facilities in town for the preparation of it. In addition to these great German staples of Pennsylvania food, a number of minor cheeses were noted as having vogue, such as "haffekase," represented by 6 in the borough and 50 in the township; "kopkäs," 9 in the borough and 35 in the township; and "deitschekäs," 5 in the township. In the case of the favorite old German dish of "schmitz un' nepp," it was found that the dish survived only in the township, where 23 cases were recorded, although, no doubt, occasionally even the denizens of the borough indulge in this venerable German dainty!

LIST OF SURVEYS AND CHART MADE BY THE LATE JACOB HILDEBRAND, ESQ.,  
OF STOSBERG.

	Name of Patentee.	Acres.	Month.	Year.	Letter.	Vol.	Page.	Township.
1	London Co. . . . .	1800	6-25	1718	A	5	306	Par.
2	Martin Kendig . . . . .	1000	6-30	1711	A	4	229	Stras. & L.
3	John R. Bundle . . . . .	500	6-30	1711	A	4	231	W. L.
4	John Funk . . . . .	500	6-30	1711	A	4	232	Stras. & L.
5	Christopher Franciscus	500	6-30	1711	A	4	233	W. L.
6	Jacob Miller . . . . .	1000	6-30	1711	A	4	239	Stras. & W. L.
7	Amos Strettle . . . . .	3380	Warrant 7-16-1712			in right of George Shore		(deed 1682).
8	Ch. Herr . . . . .	500	6-30	1711	A	4	236	W. L.
9	John Herr . . . . .	500	6-30	1711	A	4	238	
10	" "		8-10	1711				
11								
12								
13	Martin Kendig . . . . .	800	12-31	1714	A	5	264	
14								
15	John Funk . . . . .	250	5-31	1715	A	5	148	W. L.
16	John Evans . . . . .	1000	9-16	1716	A	5	203	E. L.
17	Isaac Lefever . . . . .	300	11-16	1717				
18			11-21	1716	A	5	190	Str. & E. L.
19								
20	Hans Hower . . . . .	300	2-18	1717	A	5	282	Str. & E. L.
21	Peter Beller . . . . .	250	3-15	1717	A	5	289	E. & W. Lamp.
22	Daniel Feree . . . . .	600	3-25	1717	A	5	228	Str. & E. La.
23	" "	100	3-25	1717	A	5	228	Prov.
24	Alvah Duboys . . . . .	1000	5-7	1717	A	5	214	Str. Lamp & Leacock.
25	Isaac Lefever . . . . .	300	9-16	1717	A	5		Str.
26	Henry Funk . . . . .	350	9-30	1717	A	6	156	
27	Daniel Harman . . . . .	450	12-30	1717	A	5	273	Str. E. & W. Lamp.
28								
29								
30								
31	Hans Groff . . . . .	300	6-16	1718	A	5	316	W. L.
32	London Co. . . . .	5553	6-25	1718	A	5	306	E. & W. L.
33								
34								
35								
36								
37								
38								
39								
40	John Hare . . . . .	1100	9-25	1728	A	6	77	Str. Par. & E. L.
41	Samuel Taylor . . . . .	1300	11-21	1728	A	6	70	Str.
42	Peter Leaman . . . . .	300	12-29	1728	A	6	173	E. L.
43								
44								
45	Michael Dinnegar . . . . .	300	5-3	1733	A			Str. & E. L.
46	John Steer . . . . .	200	3-20	1734	A	6	106	
47	Daniel Ferree . . . . .	308	10-29	1734	A	7	321	Par. & Leacock.
48	D. Ferree & Isaac Lefevre . . . . .	2300	10-29	1734	A	7	313	Par. & Leac.
49							319	

← EA CREEK,  
LVANIA,







	Name of Patentee.	Acres.	Month.	Year.	Letter.	Vol.	Page.	Township.
50	James Smith . . . . .		11-29	1734	A		12	E. L.
51	Peter Leaman . . . . .	400	3-26	1735	A	7	173	E. L.
52	Thomas Green . . . . .	200	11-6	1735	A	7	322	Par.
53								
54								
55	Jacob Groff . . . . .	400	5-10	1736	A	7	543	Str. & Prov.
56	John Taylor . . . . .	1144	6-24	1736	A	7	552	Str. & Prov.
57	Thom. Smith . . . . .	152	7-23	1736	A	8	204	Str. & Prov.
58	" " . . . . .	355	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "	Bart & Eden.
59								
60								
61	Thom's Green . . . . .	250	7-8	1737	A	8	285	Str. & Salisburg.
62								
63	Shadrack Scarlat . . . . .	175	9-15	1737	A	8	155	
64								
65	John Musgrove . . . . .	171½	12-12	1739				Par.
66								
67								
68								
69	George Mackrel . . . . .	120	7-14	1741	A	12	285	Par.
70								
71	Charles Birket . . . . .	58	12-6	1742	A	11	246	Par.
72	William Young . . . . .	190	12-29	1742	A	15	293	Par.
73	Rankin . . . . .	190	12-29	1742	A	15	20	Par. & Sal.
74								
75	Samuel Patterson . . . . .	210	10-19	1743	A	13	102	Par.
76	Samuel Blyth . . . . .	126	4-18	1744	A	12	98	Par. Leac. & Sal.
77	Henry Kendrick . . . . .	110½	9-20	1744	A	11	406	Str.
78	John Bowman . . . . .	147	9-20	1744	A	12	147	Str.
79	John Feree . . . . .	156	11-14	1744	A	12	166	Leacock.
80	Roger Dyer . . . . .	191	1-15	1745	A	12	293	Paradise.
81	Jacob Light . . . . .	200	10-14	1745	A N. 1, H.	24.		Par.
82								
83								
84	John Rush . . . . .	173	11-3	1746	A	12	455	Str.
85								
86	John Feree . . . . .	50	10-6	1742	A	10	492	Par.
87			6		A	14	100	
88	John Herr . . . . .	203	10-25	1748	Warrant	5, Oct., 1748.		Str.
89	James Welsh . . . . .	192	6-27	1750	A	14	491	Str. & Sadsbury.
90	John Liggitt . . . . .	245½	8-15	1750	A	15	428	Par. & Bart.
91	" " . . . . .	65	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "	Bart.
92	Jacob Brewer . . . . .		4-11	1750	A	15	374	Par.
93								
94	John Rush Deed . . . . .	164	6-8	1752	A	17	107	Str.
95	John Feree . . . . .	50	10-19	1752	A	17	154	Par.
96	Matthias Slaymaker . . . . .	147	11-17	1752	A	16	274	Par.
97	John Edman . . . . .	73	5-12	1752	A	17	104	Str.
								Warrant same day.
98	Ulrick Sharick . . . . .	102	10-9	1753	A	16	509	Par.
99	Jacob Beam . . . . .	221	6-3	1757	A	19	235	Eden.
100	Peter Taylor . . . . .	172½	3-17	1760	A	19	150	Par.
101	John Taylor . . . . .	106	3-18	1760	A	19	154	Par.
102	John Shirts . . . . .	285	8-19	1761	AA	1	50	Par.
103	John & Christian Herr . . . . .	500	5-5	1761	AA	1	254	W. L.
104	Isaac Whitelock . . . . .	320	6-17	1761	AA	1	542	Str.

	Name of Patentee.	Acres.	Month.	Year.	Letter.	Vol.	Page.	Township.
105	John Feree . . . . .	49½	1-25	1762	AA			Par.
106	Henry Herr . . . . .	318¾	5-24	1762	AA	3	296	Prov.
107	George Lutz . . . . .	123	9-24	1762	AA			Para.
108	Jacob Shirts . . . . .	176	9-25	1764	AA	5	653	Par.
109	George Smith . . . . .	109¾	12-17	1764	AA	6	110	Strasb.
110								
111								
112	Jacob Kendrick . . . . .	20	9-22	1767	AA	10	40	Strasb.
113	Henry Stoner . . . . .	172½		1767	AA	8	228	Strasb.
114	Jacob Eshleman . . . . .	34¾	4-22	1768	AA	100	345	Para.
115	John Moser . . . . .	89¾	1-25	1768	AA	10	243	Strasb.
116	Jacob Ashleman . . . . .	11¾	4-22	1768	AA	10	347	Strasb.
117	Jacob Eshleman . . . . .	42¾	4-22	1768	AA	10	349	Strasb. & Par.
118	Jacob Eshleman . . . . .	91 <sup>27</sup>	4-22	1968	AA	10	349	Strasb. & Par.
119	Jacob Eshleman . . . . .	58½	4-22	1768	AA	10	350	Strasb. & Par.
120	Martin Kendrick, Deed	15 <sup>28</sup>	10-29	1768	AA	11	31	Strasb.
121								
122								
123	John Miller . . . . .	51½	11-30	1769	AA	11	192	Strasb.
124	John Brackbill . . . . .	133	11-30	1769	AA	12	141	Strasb.
125								
126	Jacob Brua . . . . .	47	5-31	1770	AA	14	318	Para.
127	Henry Denlinger . . . . .	71	5-31	1770	AA	14	317	Para.
128	Benjamin Groff . . . . .	38¾	4-24	1770	AA	11	293	Para.
129								
130								
131	Benjamin Groff . . . . .	88	1-15	1774	AA	14	99	Strasb.
132	William Boyd . . . . .	167½	5-20	1774	AA	14	348	Eden
133	John Eckman . . . . .	145	11-26	1774	AA	14	773	Strasb.
134								
135	James Scott . . . . .	97	5-10	1776	AA	15	692	Strasb.
136	H. Stoner or C. Berman	26	12-12	1776	AA	16		Strasb.
137								
138								
139	T. & W. Montgomery	208	3-2	1784	A N	2	346	Bart, Eden & Par
	John Black . . . . .	171	1 H	1785			3	Eden
141	Herman Skiles . . . . .	173¾	7-31	1787	A N	11	34	Par.
142	Joseph Feree . . . . .	124	1-6	1788		311	563	Par.
143	Henry Kendrick . . . . .	148	8-19	1798		13	804	Strasb. & Eden
144								
145	John Herr . . . . .	194	3-13	1784		13	470	Str. & Eden
146								
147								
148	Sam'l Houston . . . . .	45	1-6	1790		16	121	Par.
149	Christ Hartman . . . . .	173¾	7-9	1790		16	325	Eden.
150								
151								
152	Joseph Moser . . . . .	110	2-27	1794		20	290	Strasb.
153								
154	John Eckman . . . . .	48		1795				"
155								
156	David Witmer . . . . .	175	5-22	1797		33	84	"
				Nearby to	Ida Graham			east of Mrs. Scott.
	Jacob Sheets . . . . .	64¾	6-7	1802		36	622	Bart.
158	Ulrick Keneagy . . . . .	47¾	6-8	1802		36	622	Par.
159	George Trout . . . . .	161	11-12	1802		48	130	Par.
160	Baltzer Borkman . . . . .	221	9-4	1805				

	Name of Patentee.	Acres.	Month.	Year.	Letter.	Vol.	Page.	Township.
161	Baltzer Borkman . . .	135	9-17	1805		56	67	
162	Feree Daniel . . .	119 & 110	3-13	1807		59	326	Par.
163	John Hutley, Heus . . .	22½	8-6	1807		61	108	Strasb.
164	John Camachen . . .	143	10-11	1811				Str. & Bart.
			8-15	1815				
165	Jacob & M. Fortz . . .	94½	10-21	1838	Asketer	Eden.		Str. & Eden.
	Eden . . .	112	3-22	1842				
166	Samuel Hathern . . .	232	11-2	1809	Will Hiett	1-26	1733	Eden.
	I. Foutz . . . . .	{ 148	4-19	1810	} Office Draft.			Str. & Eden.
		{ 47½	2-21	1810				
168	Conrad Hook . . . . .	101½	12-12	1810	H	4	395	Strasb.
169	Joseph Barber . . . . .	193	3-28	1810	H	2	272	Str. & W. La.
170	Henry Dffenbach . . .	81½	5-27	1811	H	5	755	Eden } North
171	Henry Metz . . . . .	77½	2-4	1811	H	5	348	Eden } End.
172	Jacob Fritz . . . . .	89½	7-11	1811	H	6	223	Eden.
173	John Neff . . . . .	78½	1-22	1812	H	8	13	Strasb.
174	Chr. Leaman . . . . .	90½	1-5	1816	H	12	310	Bart.
175	John Heidlebach . . . .	52½	10-9	1819	H	17	164	Para.
176	Joseph Kinkade . . . . .	117	11-6	1835	H	35	211	Bart.
177	Sam Peoples . . . . .	45½	5-5	1813	H			Strasb.
178	Francis Boumart . . . .	118½	8-22	1810	H	4	296	"
179	Rob. Posten . . . . .	47½	2-21	1810	H			
180	Chr. Yardy . . . . .	264½	4-9	1810	H	2	335	Eden.
181	I. P. Echternach . . . .	196½	9-20	1871	H	69	719	Str. & P.
	Tract Frederick White	112½	10-14	1871	H	68	714	Par.
182	Isaac Giniss . . . . .	112½	10-14	1871	H	68	714	"
183	H. F. Trout & H. Neff	50½	5-21	1872	H	70	407	Strasb.
	D. W. Jackson . . . . .	136½	4-17	1873	H	71	682	Bart.
	Bushong . . . . .	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
	Mr. Winters & Peacock & Thomas.	50½	9-4	1873	H	72	228	Par.
	John Brackbill . . . . .	116½	10-11	1809	H	1	470	Mash R.

EXPENSE ACCOUNT.

Receipts by subscriptions . . . . .	\$745.00
Expenditures {	
Equipment . . . . .	\$ 35.00
Traveling . . . . .	207.25
Board, etc. . . . .	292.83
Photographing . . . . .	91.09
Printing and Typewriting . . . . .	86.46
Stationery . . . . .	23.90
	<hr/>
	\$736.53
Balance . . . . .	\$ 8.47

M. D. LEARNED, Director.

## REVIEWS.

By WM. G. BEK.

*Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande nebst einem Adressbuch der deutschen Auslandsschulen.* Herausgegeben vom Allgemeinen Deutschen Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums im Auslande. Dietrich Reimer. Zweite Auflage. Berlin, 1906.

The work is intended for parliamentarians, newspaper men and merchants, as well as others interested in German, in foreign lands, and, as the title implies, undertakes the enormous task of informing concerning these Germans. Although it contains 573 pages of closely printed matter, the work still exhibits a lack of proportion. In the case of the United States, where we are best prepared to judge, the accompanying bibliography omits many of the best and most important sources. The third edition of this work—the preparation of which has already begun—will, no doubt, supplement this bibliography and enrich the content of the book. The demand for such a work is attested by the surprisingly rapid disposal of the 2,000 copies of the first edition (1904), which supply was exhausted four months after its publication.

The preface of the second edition is written by Professor A. Brandl, who wrote the preface also to the first edition, and the introduction—which is repeated from the first edition—is the contribution of Professor Friedrich Paulsen. The chapter pertaining to the Germans in the United States is written by Dr. Hermann Gerhard.

The work is divided into two main parts. Part I deals with "Die Deutschen im Auslande," while Part II contains the "Adressbuch der deutschen Schulen im Auslande." Under the caption, "Statistische Uebersicht, kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Verhältnisse," 123 pages are devoted to the Germans on the American continent, while in the "Adressbuch, etc.," 75 pages are given to America.

South America is more fully treated than North America. In Part I the account of the Germans in the United States covers 12 pages, while that of the Germans in Brazil covers 45 pages, notwithstanding the fact that the German population of the entire South American continent, according to the book itself, is just one-twentieth of that of the United States alone.

In the chapter on the Germans in the United States the following topics are briefly treated: 1. The History of German Immigration. 2. The Number of Germans. 3. The German Churches. 4. German Societies. 5. German Newspapers and Periodicals. 6. German Theaters. 7. Germany's Commercial Relations.

The author of this chapter falls into the mistake, made by some American historians, of calling Francis Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, a preacher. Pastorius was not a parson but a Doctor of Laws of the University of Altdorf.

It is manifest that a compilation of facts such as this book purports to give is valuable. This particular chapter might be extended with advantage to the book, as the Germans in America are an important element in the history of German colonization. With a more exhaustive use of the reliable and adequate sources at hand, a monumental contribution to the history of Germans in foreign lands must result. The services of Professor Brandl, who was so heartily welcomed in America in 1906, will greatly aid the enterprise. The present edition of the "Handbuch des Deutschtums im Ausland" shows an advance over the first edition toward this result.

*Das Deutschtum in Kanada.* Von Alwin Oppel. (*Deutsche Erde*. No. 2 of 1906.)

The title is somewhat broader than the article would justify since it confines itself largely to statistical statements and to a few historical facts relative to the date of earliest settlement. But what the author gives is most welcome to those interested in things German on the American continent.

First of all it is pointed out that, while in the United States the Germanic races occupy the most prominent place, in Canada the Celtic Romanic races predominate. The accurate record which the Canadian government keeps of the nationalities within its limits,

makes comparison easy. Thus Oppel, quoting the Canadian census of 1901, points out that, while there were 3,452,074 persons of Celtic-Romanic blood, there were only 1,658,330 of German extraction in the Dominion. The Germans are scattered over the entire inhabited portion of Canada. The greatest number of them, however, is centralized in the Province of Ontario, namely 203,319. Then follow Nova Scotia with 41,020, Manitoba with 27,265, Alberta with 7,694, and the other provinces and territories with smaller representations. In the newer settlements in the western part of the Dominion the Germans represent a considerable percentage of the entire population. In West Assiniboia, for example, 17 per cent. of the population is German. Quite obviously the Germans have sought the regions of predominantly English rather than those of predominantly French population.

From the statistical discussion Oppel turns to the historical. It appears that almost precisely a hundred years after the founding of Germantown, Pa., the first beginnings of a German settlement were made in Canada. Curiously enough, these first settlers came from the States and largely from Pennsylvania. Here a large number of that religious body known as Mennonites had settled. While their religious tenets forbade them from participating in war or military enterprises of any kind, they were loyal subjects of the crown of England. When the peace of 1783 established the United States as a separate nation, many of them, true to their oath of loyalty, departed for Canada. They settled in Southern Ontario in 1786 and have marked their settlements by giving them German names—Berlin, New Hamburg, Breslau, etc. A large number of German Mennonites subsequently went to Canada from Russia, to escape military duties which the Russian government was about to force upon them. They sought chiefly the central and western parts of Canada. It will be interesting to note how large a percentage of the German population this religious sect constitutes. According to the census of 1901, of the 27,265 Germans in Manitoba, 15,246 were Mennonites; in the District of Lisgar, of 13,774 Germans, 10,915 were Mennonites; in the District of Provencher, of 5,839 Germans, 4,267 were Mennonites, and in Saskatchewan, of 4,332 Germans, 3,683 belonged to this sect.

Oppel concludes his article by saying that the Germans of Can-

ada are not important factors politically for the following reasons:

1. They are scattered over a vast stretch of land.
2. The Mennonites separate themselves from other people.
3. The Germans live, for the most part, in the small towns and country districts.

*Reisebilder aus Amerika.* Von Adam Röder. 1906. Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, Berlin.

This is a book written in a feuilletonistic style upon meager information. Its title would be more appropriately "Bilder aus New York." Like so many Europeans, the author regards New York City as equivalent to the Union and makes local observations applicable to the nation at large. Of this vast country, its millions of inhabitants and its multiplex phases of life and activities, he feels competent to write, with considerable conviction, after a brief visit to four of our cities, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington. Just what the purpose of the book should be is not an easy matter to divine, unless by means of caricature of our social conditions it should serve to deter his fellow countrymen from coming to America. From cover to cover it is a great interrogation mark. It is full of misrepresentations, incongruities and gross statistical and historical errors. That a change of the environment of a people and the heterogeneity of our population are uncondusive to spontaneous development of the highest stage of culture, the author fails to observe. Every aspect of life he views through the partisan eyeglass of a self-satisfied European. He is unable to observe in anything, whatsoever, the quickening heart throb of a new and unique culture. What his own nation and other European nations, by constant intermingling, by mutual borrowing and reworking have accomplished in centuries of labor, he expects to find, in even a magnified degree, in this new country which has scarcely emerged from the keenest struggle with primitive conditions. According to Röder all Americans are wholesale plagiarists, ruthless borrowers. He denies us every claim to scholarship, going so far even as denying us the right of owning our beloved Mark Twain, assigning him a place among the English or Low Germans. The average German American he views with particular abhorrence. It is a book of neg-



*German American Literature.* Amelia von Ende. Autumn Number, 1906, of *Poet Lore*.

In this article Mrs. von Ende has contributed to a study, a serious, thoroughgoing treatment of which must be eagerly welcomed by all students who desire a complete and accurate literary history of our country. The author possesses admirable qualifications for this kind of work. For years she has closely followed the German literary activities on both sides of the Atlantic. In a magazine article of only a few pages, however, it is manifestly impossible to enter, exhaustively, into a field so difficult and so many-sided. It goes without saying that the excessive brevity has permitted, so to speak, only a bird's-eye view of the entire field. That here and there apparent superficiality appears is therefore not surprising. Many writers had, necessarily, to be passed with a mere mention. However, some are omitted, who, beyond any doubt, should have a place among German American literary men. Just to mention one: H. A. Rattermann, who for years has been a tireless writer and who just now is publishing a monumental edition of his own works. Some of his poems are of such exquisite beauty that they will vie successfully with many European literary works of art. He certainly has won for himself a place among German American men of letters.

However, every thoughtful reader must welcome every serious attempt to interest our countrymen in the gifts which the various elements of our cosmopolitan population have contributed towards rounding out the inner life of our nation.

*Die Glocke.* Carl Schurz. November.

Number 5 of the new monthly *Die Glocke*, published at Chicago, is devoted almost exclusively to the memory of the late Carl Schurz. It is a beautiful and fitting tribute to the great German American. It touches upon every phase of his eventful life and his manifold activities. The contributors to this memorial number were marshalled from the most active workers—German and Anglo-Americans—in the study of the Germans in America. The *Glocke* has thus shown itself an important organ of communication between the Germans of America and their kinsmen in the old Fatherland.

*Longfellow and German Romance.* Fred Lewis Pattee. Spring Number of *Poet Lore*, 1906.

Professor Pattee gives us an excellent bit of comparative study. He has contributed an important piece of work towards the serious, modern method of studying Longfellow and the literary forces influencing his thought. Pattee proceeds cautiously and clinches his statements well. The parallel situations which he cites in the life of Longfellow and that of the founder of the German Romantic School of Literature, Novalis, are striking. He shows how the American poet's own temperament, his Puritanic tendencies, the overwrought condition of his mind after the death of his wife and of his friend, his European surroundings and the literature which he read, slowly but surely turned him to Romanticism and made such poems as *Hyperion* and the collection *Voices of the Night* possible.

*The Psalm of Life* was an attempt to break away from the moodiness and aimlessness into which Romanticism had led him. It was stimulated by Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*. Professor Pattee says that in this poem the spirit of Goethe's great novel made itself felt for the first time in America.

Some of the marks of the Romantic poets are their revelries in things pertaining to the Middle Ages, their adoration for the Catholic Church, their worship of Dante. All these Longfellow shared with the Romanticists. And he does it to such an extent that the great mass of his poetry is really American only in theme, a statement which might be strongly contested.

The article is well written. It contains no far-fetched or forced comparisons and its logic and straightforwardness appeal to the students as something of real worth in the modern comparative

*Americana.* Von Karl Lamprecht. 1906. Hermann Heyfelder, Freiburg im Breisgau.

A small book written with intended fairness by an eminent German scholar. It is much too small to contain the mass of material which the author has acquired during his American travels. He expressly disclaims all attempts at completeness and simply gives

to his readers some few of his many observations. That he was demonstrably impelled by a desire to inquire scientifically into American institutions and conditions no one will doubt.

The first 56 pages of the book are devoted to an interesting diary which contains, so to speak, the snapshot impressions of a very extended tour through this country. Part two contains more deliberate reflections based on actual observations, namely, concerning American piety, the influence of physical conditions on the people, the quantitative judgment of the Americans, an interview with Carl Schurz, the martial spirit of the Americans, American liberty, politics and Teutonism, and finally the American universities.

The author is convinced that, despite the great variety of demonstrations, the Teutonic element of the United States is, after all, deeply religious. He believes that in the farm lies the hope and strength of our nation. He criticises, and doubtless justly, our quantitative judgment. He attributes this trait to the newness of the country and finds parallels for it in every colonial civilization. To Carl Schurz—the greatest German American—he pays a most beautiful tribute. He finds the American people to be of martial inclination. Their numerous monuments—not always of the highest artistic value—are nevertheless pertinent demonstrations of the esteem in which their heroes are held. This martial sense he attributes not so much to an overwrought national pride as to the consciousness of physical ability, a feeling acquired in the daily conquest of primitive conditions. Concerning our much-boasted liberty he concludes that it is largely “the liberty of the captains of industry.” Under the heading Teutonism he touches upon the oft-expressed wish that the Teutonic nations should stand shoulder to shoulder for the development of the highest culture and for the greatest mutual good. Although the author has seen a great many American universities, he does not feel competent to formulate a complete picture of what the American university really is and how it differs in detail from the European university. He has seen many interesting things, some of which he even recommends to European universities.

In the last part of his book, by far the most serious, Professor Lamprecht gives a résumé of his American impressions. He treats

briefly our history. He notes the want of true and typical American culture, but he recognizes, in innumerable signs, the dawn of such culture. Then he discusses, in brief, the contributions which New England has made to the United States and gives reasons why New England should have a development differing from that of the other states. Next he deals with American literature and joins other critics in ascribing to Edgar Allan Poe the distinction of being the most typical American writer. He observes the well-known fact that we have no drama and attributes it, in part, to Puritanic influence. He is undecided whether to call the short story typically American or whether we owe indebtedness to Maupassant and Kipling. The display of American art at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition has convinced the author that the standard of American art is ascending.

It is to be regretted that Professor Lamprecht has seen fit to confine himself to such brevity of description. We should welcome the historian's opinion in greater detail.

*Amerikanische Eindrücke.* Von Ludwig Fulda. 1906. Stuttgart und Berlin. J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger.

Doubtlessly this book will find many eager readers in America, since it contains many interesting observations by a well-wishing foreigner, and its criticisms are fair and valuable. At the outset Dr. Fulda emphasizes the fact that he does not purpose to write a book on America. His superior judgment convinces him of the folly of such an attempt after an acquaintance of only a few months' sojourn. Therefore he proposes to give only the rather general impressions which he gained on his American tour. He does this impartially and, in a particularly pleasing manner. It must be remembered—and Fulda says so, in substance, himself—that he saw America, as it were, in full dress. As the guest of the Germanistic Society of America, to which body, by the way, his book is dedicated, he was so hospitably entertained and so constantly occupied, that a quiet study of existing conditions was wholly out of the question. It is doubtful whether this fact is to be regretted, as so few Europeans see America just as Fulda saw it. It cannot have anything but a wholesome effect to emphasize this side for once. Of

our cities he has seen a good deal. He recognizes the utility of American skyscrapers and even succeeds in seeing some beauty in these colossal structures. He compliments the parks, the illumination of the cities, the gigantic undertakings to facilitate traffic, and the fact that so many Americans live in houses which they own. He criticises the paving of our streets and the horribly unsightly telegraph and telephone poles seen in many places. He recognizes and does justice to the manifest attempt to beautify our towns and cities. His conclusion is that American cities—even Boston and Washington—are yet unfinished. He compares the cities to young giants who have outgrown their immaturity. Their old garments have become too small and somehow they do not know how to deport themselves in the new ones.

Speaking of American travel, he lavishly compliments the comfort and luxury which state-room passengers enjoy. The accommodations accorded to those less wealthy he finds, on the whole, inferior and less practical than those of Germany. This leads him to the conclusion: "The American is practical only in great things."

Fulda's observations on the Germans of America are well worth the careful perusal of anyone interested in this class of our citizens. He recognizes the fact that the bone and sinew of the "Deutschtum" in this country are the German farmers and the families of the intellectual aristocrats whom the Revolution of 1848 brought into our midst. The author duly respects the titanic struggle which goes on daily, yes hourly, to keep things German, particularly the language, alive in this English-speaking land, but he duly points out the ultimate futility of this struggle, and shows the baneful effect of attempting the control of two languages with equal dexterity. (I should like to interpolate this thought here, germane to this subject, that in my opinion this very duality of language is one of the causes why German Americans do not use the pen with more facility than they do, in either language.)

The mixture of dialects and languages among the Pennsylvanians, some specimens of which he saw also in print, did not impress Fulda very favorably.

The playwright compliments in warmest terms the great German newspapers of New York, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Chicago and Milwaukee; the many excellent German clubs, and especially the

distinctly German theatres. One experiences just a little surprise when one fails to see Philadelphia on the list of cities boasting of a German theatre. Doubtlessly this is due to the fact that at the time the dramatist made his visit to Philadelphia, the surpassingly excellent German theatre of this city was not yet completed.

As a loyal son of the Fatherland Fulda was, of course, interested to know in how far the German Americans were pleased with their new surroundings. His observation was that they are satisfied with their new conditions, and his question, as to whether they would like to return to the Fatherland, was answered, almost uniformly, in the negative, largely because conditions at home have changed so materially. Still he seems to detect in the depths of their hearts a consuming homesickness—"Heimweh haben sie alle." Whether this last assertion could be made with so much positiveness after an intimate acquaintance with the great farming, manufacturing and laboring classes, who, after all, constitute a large percentage of the German American population, is not at all so certain.

Concerning American education and methods of instruction Fulda waxes quite enthusiastic. He says: "If I should say what surprised me most in America and by far surpassed my expectation, I should answer: It was not the skyscraper, the territorial extent of the country, not the gigantic proportions of the life; it was rather the education and the system of instruction." He recognizes in our college sports a wholesome substitute for the German duel. Speaking of American students he says: "Man sieht keine zerhackten und keine versoffenen Gesichter." The Manual Training Schools were a revelation and agreeable surprise to him. In co-education he sees none of those dangers which the opponents of the system argue, but rather a perfectly natural condition, entirely wholesome to both sexes. He recognizes in it one of the causes of the independence of the American woman and her ability to shift for herself. She knows herself to be intellectually the equal of man. To this association of the two sexes in the schools Fulda attributes, in a large degree, the comparative moral purity of the American youth.

Under the heading, "Culture of the Masses and Art," he compliments the systems of University Extension and the Chautauqua, which bring culture to those who cannot attend college. Of our libraries he speaks in warmest terms, and contrasts the ease of find-

ing books and the liberality in the free use of them, with the antiquated library methods prevalent in his own country. The excessive haste with which American newspapers gather and disseminate news seems to him to be of questionable value as a means of educating the masses, and the persistent and omnipresent reporter and interviewer are abominations in his eyes. He recognizes our want of true art and finds its cause in the newness of our country and the unsettled condition of our people. He asserts that no colony ever produced great works of art. We still fail to utilize the material which nature and our own history so abundantly offer. Willing hands have lavishly supplied museums and galleries with money, but the true artist is not produced by money. As playwright he especially notes the absence of a truly American drama.

He is justly astonished at the ways in which laws are evaded in America.

As general characteristics he credits us with singular patience (a conclusion which more intimate acquaintance might not substantiate), optimism, hospitality, honesty in little things, rascality in the large ones, and a decided tendency towards chauvinism.

All in all, he has obtained a very fair view of America, of our strong points and our weaknesses. He is convinced of the enormous potential wealth and the still latent energy in this country. In conclusion he says: "If the Old World is not to be overshadowed by the New, if she is not eventually to be crushed by her superior force even without hostile contact, she has only one single expedient. The hope, however, that it will be opportunely applied seems to be more Utopian now than ever. It is called: The United States of Europe."

Wm. G. Bek.

## FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS.

- PROF. DR. OTTO BINDEWALD, University of Giessen.  
PROF. DR. KARL BORINSKI, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ALOYS BRANDL, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. OTTO BREMER, University of Halle.  
PROF. DR. KARL BREUL, King's College, Cambridge, England.  
PROF. DR. KONRAD BURDACH, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. CREIZENACH, University of Krakau.  
PROF. DR. ERNST ELSTER, University of Marburg.  
DR. K. ENDEMANN, Weilberg a. L.  
PROF. DR. LUDWIG GEIGER, University of Berlin.  
DR. GRAEVELL, Brussels.  
PROF. DR. F. HOLTHAUSEN, University of Kiel.  
PROF. DR. M. H. JELLINEK, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. O. JIRICZEK, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. MAX KOCH, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. K. LANDMANN, Darmstadt.  
PROF. DR. PAUL LANGHANS, Gotha.  
PROF. DR. H. LAMBEL, University of Prague.  
PROF. DR. JOHN MEIER, University of Basel.  
PROF. DR. RUDOLPH MEISSNER, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. RICHARD M. MEYER, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. J. MINOR, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. E. MOGK, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. LORENZ MORSBACH, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. F. MUNCKER, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ANTON SCHOENBACH, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. BERNHARD SEUFFERT, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. ALEXANDER TILLE, University of Glasgow.  
PROF. DR. H. VARNHAGEN, University of Erlangen.  
PROF. DR. OSKAR WALZEL, University of Bern.  
PROF. DR. G. WITKOWSKI, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. WYCHGRAM, University of Leipzig.

(List may be extended.)

---

## Form von Vermächtnissen.

I give and bequeath to the "*German American Historical Society*", Central Office located at Philadelphia Pa., \_\_\_\_\_

---

(here describe the amount, if money or premises, if real estate)

to aid in carrying out the designs of the Society.



## THE NATIONAL GERMAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

*President*, DR. C. J. HEXAMER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*1st Vice-Pres.*, JOSEPH KELLER, Indianapolis, Ind.  
*2d Vice-Pres.*, NOAH GUTER, Newark, N. J.  
*Treas.*, H. WENIGER, Phila, Pa. *Fin. Sec.*, JOHN YENNY, East Pittsburg, Pa.  
*Sec.*, ADOLPH TIMM, 522 W. Lehigh Ave., Phila., Pa.

### *National Executive Committee:*

JOHN TJARKS, Balto., Md.; C. W. BENTE, Wheeling, W. Va.,  
KURT VOELCKNER, Washington, D. C.; F. OSKAR MARTIN, Idaho;  
H. I. NIENSTEDT, St. Paul, Minn.; GUSTAV C. MARTENS, Cleveland, O.;  
C. C. LIENAU, Newark, N. J.; DR. CARL BARCK, St. Louis, Mo.,  
DR. H. A. C. ANDERSON, N. Y. City; ALBERT CURRLIN, Oakland, Cal.;  
H. C. BLOEDEL, Allegheny, Pa.; CARL EBERHARD, Boston, Mass.

## THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(INCORPORATED 1901)

*Honorary President*, J. G. ROSENGARTEN, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*President*, DR. ALBERT BERNHEIM, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Vice-Presidents*: L. P. HENNIGHAUSEN, Baltimore, Md. H. M. VON STARK-  
LOFF, St. Louis, Mo. C. F. HUCH, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Editor*: MARION D. LEARNED, BOX 10, College Hall. University of Pennsyl-  
vania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Secretary*: ADOLPH TIMM, 522 W. Lehigh Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Treasurer*: HANS WENIGER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Business Manager*: CHARLES H. BREITBARTH, 809 Spring Garden Street,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Annual Dues, \$5.00.

## THE UNION OF OLD GERMAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

Headquarters, ARION HALLE, 99th St. and Park Ave., NEW YORK.

*President*, DR. CARL BECK, 37 E. 31st St., New York.

### *Vice-Presidents:*

DR. M. D. LEARNED, DR. CARL BARCK,  
HON. CHAS. F. MCLEAN, DR. HENRY G. KRAUSE,  
DR. W. FREUDENTHAL.  
*Rec. Secretary*, DR. J. HECKMANN. *Cor. Secretary*, DR. CARL PFISTER.  
*Treasurer*, DR. ALBERT J. W. KERN, Jamaica, N. Y.

### *Directors:*

DR. C. W. ALPERUS, H. SCHUETER,  
DR. EM. BARUCH, DR. R. JOHNSTONE MOONEY,  
DR. WILLIAM H. CARMALT, DR. H. MUENSTERBERG,  
DR. WM. H. CARPENTER, DR. H. SCHOENFELD,  
DR. CHAS. F. CHANDLER, DR. J. G. SCHURMAN,  
DR. C. W. ELIOT, DR. L. L. SEAMAN,  
DR. H. ENDEMANN, H. A. WEBER.

Annual Dues, \$3.00.

Jul 3 1912

"The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown,"  
will begin in next issue.

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations  
OF  
Germany and America

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*  
*The National German American Alliance*  
*The Union of Old German Students in America*

### CONTENTS:

Dialectal Peculiarities in the Carlisle Vernacular	- - - -	67
Patriotische Betrachtungen	- - - -	80
Berlin, a German Settlement in Waterloo County, Ontario, Canada	-	105
Persönliche Eindrücke von Amerikanischen Univeraitäten	- - -	122
Bibliography of German Americana for the Year 1906	- - -	124

NEW SERIES, Vol. 5, No. 2.                      OLD SERIES, Vol. 9, No. 2.  
MARCH AND APRIL, 1907.

Subscription Price, \$3.00.                      Single Copies, 50 cents.

COPYRIGHT, 1907.

(Entered March 2, 1903, at Philadelphia, Pa., as Second Class matter, under Act of Congress, of March 3, 1879)

PUBLISHED BY

THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,  
809 SPRING GARDEN STREET,  
Philadelphia.

Berlin:  
MAYER & MÜLLER

New York:  
CARL A. STERN

Leipzig:  
F. A. BROCKHAUS

London:  
KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

Paris:  
H. LESOUDIER

## ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Bi-Monthly, GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, is a continuation of the quarterly, AMERICANA GERMANICA, and will make accessible to a wider public current matter bearing upon the Relations of Germany and America. Each number will contain a series of original contributions, reviews, book notices and lists of new publications, relating to the history of the Germans in America and also to American studies in the general field of Germanics.

The original title AMERICANA GERMANICA will be retained for the series of larger monographs which do not fall within the limits of a periodical, and for reprints. These monographs will be published at such times as they are presented, and will be sold separately, the price varying according to the character of the monograph.

In the Monthly regular attention will be given to reviews and book notices. New publications will be promptly listed and so far as possible reviewed. Contributions, books for review and exchanges are solicited, especially such as come within the scope of the Monthly, and should be sent to the editor, *M. D. Learned, Box 10, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.*

Subscriptions and other business communications should be directed to the business manager, *Charles H. Breitbarth, 809 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, Pa.*

The annual subscription price is three dollars (\$3.00) in advance. Members of the German American Historical Society are entitled to the periodical publications issued by the Society. To members of other affiliated societies the Monthly will be sent for two dollars (\$2.00), provided not less than a hundred members of such a society subscribe for the journal.

### SPECIAL TO LIBRARIES.

#### GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS.

As full sets are nearly exhausted, Vol. I-IV will not be sold separately. Back sets can be had as follows :

Volume I,	}	complete . . . . .	\$10.00
Volume II,			
Volume III,			
Volume IV,			
Volume V, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VI, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VII, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VIII, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00

#### AMERICANA GERMANICA (Monographs Bound in Cloth).

1. *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines.* By E. Z. Davis, Ph. D. . . . . \$1.50
2. *The Harmony Society.* By J. A. Bole, Ph. D. . . . . 1.50
3. *Friedrich Schiller in America.* By E. C. Parry, Ph. D. . . . . 1.25
4. *The Influence of Salomon Gessner Upon English Literature.*  
By Bertha Reed . . . . . 1.25
5. *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri.* By Wm. G. Bek . . . . . 1.50

PRINTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL PRINTING CO.,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
**Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations**  
OF  
**Germany and America**

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*  
*The National German American Alliance*  
*The Union of Old German Students in America*

EDITOR,

MARION DEXTER LEARNED,  
University of Pennsylvania.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS :

H. C. G. BRANDT, Hamilton College.	JULIUS GOEBEL, Harvard University.
W. H. CARPENTER, Columbia University.	J. T. HATFIELD, Northwestern University.
W. H. CARRUTH, University of Kansas.	W. T. HEWETT, Cornell University.
HERMANN COLLITZ, Bryn Mawr College.	A. R. HOHLFELD, University of Wisconsin.
STARR W. CUTTING, University of Chicago.	HUGO K. SCHILLING, University of California.
DANIEL K. DODGE, University of Illinois.	H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG, University of Chicago.
A. B. FAUST, Cornell University.	HERMANN SCHOENFELD, Columbia University.
KUNO FRANCKE, Harvard University.	CALVIN THOMAS, Columbia University.
ADOLPH GERBER, Late of Earlham College.	H. S. WHITE, Harvard University.
	HENRY WOOD, Johns Hopkins University.

New Series, Vol. 5.

Old Series, Vol. 9.

1907.

PUBLISHED BY

THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,  
809 SPRING GARDEN STREET,  
Philadelphia.

Berlin :  
MAYER & MÜLLER

New York :  
CARL A. STERN

Leipzig :  
F. A. BROCKHAUS

London :  
KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

Paris :  
H. LESOUDIÉRE



# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

---

New Series, Vol. V. No. 2.	March and April 1907.	Old Series, Vol. IX. No. 2.
-------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------------

---

### DIALECTAL PECULIARITIES IN THE CARLISLE VER- NACULAR.

The town of Carlisle, the county seat of Cumberland County, is situated eighteen miles southwest of Harrisburg, in the midst of the fertile and beautiful Cumberland Valley.

Cumberland County was formed from a part of Lancaster County, in 1750. In 1757, the town of Carlisle was surveyed and on July 23, of the same year, by order of the Governor of Pennsylvania the first court of Common Pleas was held there. With this date the history of Carlisle as a town may be said to commence.

The inhabitants of the town, exclusive of the two thousand negroes, are largely descended from the Scotch-Irish and from the Germans. The former were the first settlers. The latter began to settle in the valley about 1760, though the great influx did not begin till ten years later. By the year 1775, however, the Germans had become so numerous that two religious denominations had been organized in the town.

In the early history of Carlisle, the services in the Lutheran church were conducted in German, which was however, gradually

replaced by English to meet the desires and needs of the younger generation. In 1858, those Lutherans who desired to have the service exclusively in German established a separate church. This flourished for a time but as the younger generations came on they desired and demanded that the services be conducted in English. This led to a compromise, one service on Sunday in German and one in English. In 1896, the charter of this church was changed so that all of the services might be conducted in English. Soon afterwards the little German church was abandoned, a new chapel was built to which is now being added one of the handsomest church buildings in the country. The change in the charter of this church in 1896 marks the final Americanization of the German element of Carlisle. The change had, of course, been gradual but it had been thorough.

This took place only eleven years ago but so thoroughly have the Germans been amalgamated that a stranger coming to the town to-day finds scarcely any traces of their existence. No German is spoken on the streets, and even in the market house one scarcely ever hears any Pennsylvania Dutch. If, perchance, you should ask a Carlisle if he knows Pennsylvania Dutch, he will reply with dignity that he is Scotch-Irish and properly impressed with your own impertinence you will pass on your way.

In the year 1899 I became a resident of Carlisle and having had some linguistic training I was soon struck by certain peculiarities in the vernacular, which impressed me as being dialectal. I began to make note of expressions which differed from my own speech and have continued to do so ever since. It is with the result of these observations, covering a period of seven years, that this paper has to deal.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the particular expressions involved a few words in reference to the method pursued in collecting them may be in order.

In no case have I hunted after strange words or forms of speech but in every case have noted only such expressions as oc-

curred in the speech of the person with whom I was conversing. Had I really searched for rare birds, I could have increased the list largely but it would not have been representative of all the people. All of the expressions noted I have heard used again and again by merchants, by college students, and by the best people of the town. It is not necessary to say that there are many people who speak an English, which is practically dialect free.

The population of the town being such as I have described it, we should naturally expect the language to reflect in some degree the racial peculiarities of the people. The Carlisle Vernacular should retain traces of Scotch (English) and of German.

The major portion of this study will be devoted to vocabulary, for reasons which will appear later.

For convenience the various words and expressions are arranged alphabetically:

**AGAINST:** (1) Preposition — in contrast to, e. g. These shoes look new *against* yours. This use of the word evidently arose from the German “gegen” in this sense, which was translated into English.

(2) Conjunction — By the time, e. g. *against* I get my pastoral calls finished, I have no time for social ones.

This is colloquial English.

**ALL:** used as in German to denote that the supply of an article is exhausted, e. g. The butter is *all*. The examples might be increased *ad libitum*. We have here, of course, a simple translation and adoption of the German expression.

**ALREADY** (commonly contracted to a’ready): In actual meaning this word does not differ from the regular English usage. It is used in Carlisle, however, much more frequently than in communities where there is no German influence, and to one familiar with this language it is evident that it is influenced by Ger. *schon*.

Have you studied algebra?



I had it *already* in my Freshman year.

Do you know the old Stone Tavern?

I have seen it *already*.

How many pair of shoes can you sole in a day?

I have half-soled three pair *already* in my time.

**BEAL** (pr. beel) : to fester, suppurate, "He has a bealed ear or finger."

This word, which the dictionaries mark obsolete except in Scotland, is still generally used.

**BEALING**: "A boil." This substantive from the verb "to beal" has taken the place of the old noun *beal*.

We have here a bit of word-making taking place in the dialect. The new noun *bealing* has been made from the verb *to beal*, whereas, historically, the reverse is true; the verb *beal* being derived from the noun *beal*.

**DARE**: To denote permission instead of *may*, e. g. you *dare* go. *Dare* I go out.

Students regularly translate *darf ich wagen* by "*dare* I venture."

The universal use of *dare* in this sense I believe is due to the influence of Ger. *dürfen*.

**DEAF**: (pr. deaf) : sterile, blasted.

The word is restricted, I believe, to the kernels of nuts, as a deaf walnut.

**FLIT**: to move from one place to another.

**FLITTING**: (1) A removal from one place to another. (2) Household effects in the course of removal from one place to another.

In these words, which are north Eng. or Scotch, we see the influence of the Scotch-Irish portion of the population.

**GET**: in the expression "to get company," e. g. "we are getting company to-morrow" ef. Ger. "wir bekommen Besuch."

**LEAVE** — Eng. “let” is of common occurrence, but since this is usual in the vulgar speech of all communities, it needs no further comment here.

**LET**: — Eng. “leave,” e. g. I *let* the book in the room. (This usage is frequent, but not common.) Although it is obsolete English, there seems no doubt that Ger. “lassen” has been the chief factor in preserving it in this locality.

**ON**: (1) — Eng. “for” with wait, e. g. Wait *on* me. I waited fifteen minutes *on* the car.

Although there is an obsolete Eng. expression *to wait on* meaning to expect, look for (cf. Cent. Dict. wait, 4, d), which is similar in meaning to this usage, I am nevertheless inclined to believe that we have here a translation of Ger. “auf.” Even if we assume that it is a survival of the obsolete Eng. expression, there seems to be no doubt that its persistence is due to German influence. (2) — Eng. “in” in the phrase “*on* the attic,” which is universally used. This is plainly a translation of Ger. “auf dem Boden.”

**ONCE**: used as an expletive — Ger. einmal, e. g. come here *once*.

This word is of common occurrence, and since it is foreign to English usage, we must likewise attribute it to the German.

**OUTEN**: to put out, e. g. “Shall I *outen* the light.” [Prov. Eng.]

**PAIR**: — “a few.” cf. German “ein paar.”

Although I have heard only one instance of this usage, I am informed that it is quite common among the uneducated.

**RED UP**: to put to rights, clean, e. g. I must *red up* the room.

**SLIPPY**: — *slippery*.

**SHOULD**: in the German sense of report, to be said, e. g. He should have said that ——— i. e. he is said to have said that ——— — er sollte gesagt haben, dass ———

STILL: The Century Dictionary under the adverb "still" (2) gives the meaning constantly, continually, habitually, always, ever, as in common use. The following examples are cited:

Thou still hast been the father of good news.

Shak. *Hamlet*, II, 2, 42.

What a set face the gentlewoman has, as she were still going to a sacrifice!

B. Johnson, *Cynthia's Revels* iv, 1.

O first of friends! (Pelides thus replied),  
Still at my heart, and ever at my side.

Pope, *Iliad* XI. 743.

Despite the definition and examples, I think the following specimens of the Carlisle dialect will strike the ordinary American as strange and unfamiliar, though they are evidently survivals of this usage.

Can you take away my ashes?

If you save them I will get them *still* (a negro).

A barber, in speaking of a certain hair tonic, which he considered the best, said:

That's what I tell them *still*. That is, I always tell people that when they ask about hair tonics.

A market woman, when asked whether certain apples were pippins, replied:

We *still* call them little yellow apples.

A carpenter, in speaking about bidding good-bye to his parrot, said:

I tell him *still* when I go to work.

A storekeeper, in telling how many students brought kerosene cans to his store to be filled, remarked:

What a string of kerosene cans we would have to fill *still*.

I often hear Jersey people use idioms which seem funny

to me *still*. This student, who is of German extraction, says he did not *use this word till* he became a resident of Carlisle.

You could hear him swearing *still* whenever you went near his house.

He *still* writes me about the good fishing out there.

A girl was calling to another, who replied: Don't yell so much, I heard you *still*.

If we examine these expressions we find the meaning of *still* to be that given by the Century Dictionary, but it would be difficult to persuade one that they are specimens of normal English. They are evidently survivals of this old use of "still" due, doubtless, to Scotch-Irish influence.\*

STRANGE: shy, diffident, bashful, "your children are *strange*."

This is an extension of the older Eng. usage (cf. Cent. Dict. *strange*, 6).

TILL: instead of *by* in expressions of time.

I must get my shoes *till* Sunday.

I will make it up *till* next lesson.

In this use of *till*, which is extremely common, we have simply a translation of the German "bis" in similar expressions.

THAT: (I) The demonstrative *that* is frequently used as the subject of the verb "to be," where in normal English we employ *this* or *it*.

THAT: e. g. *that's* a cold day to-day.

I have been unable to account for this usage satisfactorily. At first sight, one naturally thinks of the German "das ist heute kalt," but this use of *das* is not found in Pennsylvania German, which is probably the German of Carlisle. I say probably, because I have not investigated the history

---

\*I attribute this survival to Scotch-Irish' influence because I know of no other cause. I should be glad to learn whether it is used in other Scotch-Irish communities.

of the Germans here, nor am I able to discover any precise information on the subject. If it should develop on investigation that any considerable portion of the population spoke a dialect, in which "das ist heute kalt" was used, then we might reasonably class this among the Germanisms. If, on the other hand, as is doubtless the case, the German of Carlisle was Pennsylvania German, then we must explain this usage as English, but what sort of English?

When we pet a dog we say "That's a nice dog," or when something goes wrong we say "That's a nice kettle of fish" or "That's a fine state of affairs." Is the use of *that* under discussion a possible extension of the usage illustrated in these expressions? If it is of English origin, it seems that we must explain it in this way.

TOOT — a paper bag. This comes evidently through Pa. Ger. *Tüte*.

TOWARDS — in contrast to, in comparison with, e. g. Your shoes look new *towards* mine. Since this usage is altogether alien to English, I take it that we have here another translation of Ger. "*gegen*." cf. *against* — *gegen*.

WATCH UP — to observe carefully, keep an eye upon, e. g. "I will watch it up," said a physician when consulted about a certain ailment. I am unable to account for this use of "up," unless it comes from such expressions as "hold up," meaning wait, and "wait up," where *up* seems merely to intensify the meaning of the verb.

YET — I. In addition to what has preceded, too. One warm day I was comfortably ensconced on a couch enjoying a post-prandial cigar; a friend sitting near me inquired:

(1) Do you want to be fanned *yet*?

A doctor, in describing his rifle, said to me:

(2) I have a rifle which can shoot through two trees and kill a man *yet*.

My neighbor's yard slopes so that the water runs into my cellar. In describing this to a carpenter, he said:

(3) And they have a posey bed *yet* against the wall, i. e. in addition to a yard sloping the wrong way, they have a flower bed against the wall.

"Yet," meaning in addition to, is found in English, usually with comparatives. In meaning it is closely akin with its use here, but I believe that everyone unfamiliar with the dialect under discussion will admit that these expressions are unusual. In view of what has already been said, the mere suggestion of "noch" will, I believe, suggest the proper explanation of this use of *yet* to one familiar with the German language.

II. — still — Ger. "noch."

When we lived in the country *yet*.

III. In certain cases "yet" seems to be used merely as an intensive. For example, I once asked a student how often he had Latin, to which he replied, "Every day in the week *yet*", that is "I have Latin every single day".

On another occasion I said to a coachman "you are making money these days," He replied "Yes, but I have to work tard, I have been up till two o'clock three nights this week *yet*." As far as I can see, "yet" merely emphasizes the statement, "I have been up till two o'clock three nights this week." cf. Ich wäre *noch* diese Woche in die Stadt gezogen, wäre das Wetter nicht so schön gewesen.

IV. German "doch."

A boy was showing me a room which a friend had decorated with playing cards; he said: "The boy that decorated this room seemed to know a good poker hand, and he's a preacher *yet*."

V. — Ger. "noch."

Must these envelopes be sent out this week, *yet*?

From the examples given it is perfectly evident that we have here various translations and adoptions of Ger. "doch" and "noch."

This completes the list of peculiarities in vocabulary; let us now turn our attention to the subject of Syntax, which can, unfortunately, be disposed of in a few words, as I have noticed but three peculiarities, which are so general as to cause comment. There may be others, but in conversation they pass without attracting attention. The first example is the frequent use of the present tense instead of the perfect to denote an action begun in the past and continued in the present e. g. "I have had only one since I *am* here. As far as I have observed, this use of the present occurs only in clauses introduced by since, though it doubtless occurs likewise in independent clauses. This is, of course, the well-known German use of the present tense instead of the English perfect.

The second syntactic peculiarity is the use of the verb "want" as auxiliary without a dependent infinitive, e. g. "Do you want in, out, up, down, etc.": "I only want at that stuff once a week." Although I have been on the alert for this usage with other auxiliaries, none has come to my notice.

We have here, due to Scotch-Irish, a survival of what was once common in English. The reason for its survival with "want" seems to lie in the transitive meaning of this verb. When a child says "I want out," he is not thinking of the verb go, so much as he is of the place or state designated by out, i. e. I want *to be out*, rather than *to go out*. The phrase *to be out* really expresses a state or condition which is the object of the verb *want*.

The third syntactic peculiarity is the quite common use of the old ethical dative, e. g. My dog died *for me*.

A father, bringing his young son to college, said: "I am afraid he will get homesick *for me*." The conversation showed that this was an ethical dative. The man meant that the boy

would get homesick not for himself in particular, but for everybody and everything at home.

Let us now turn to a consideration of accent and first to the pronunciation of the word *balcony*, which is the only word whose accent has struck me as peculiar. It is very frequently, though not universally, accented on the second syllable, which is, of course, the older English pronunciation. Its retention is doubtless due to Scotch-Irish influence.

The most striking peculiarity of the Carlisle dialect, the one which instantly attracts the attention of a person unfamiliar with it, is the sentence stress in interrogative sentences. I am prepared here only to mention this for two reasons: first, because it is an extremely difficult matter to explain on paper; secondly, because I have never been able to offer any satisfactory explanation of it. In passing, I may simply say that there is a difference between real questions, asking for information and between questions expressing surprise. For example, in the question "Are you going down town?" the voice is not kept up on town, but we have a circumflex accent on the word, the voice being lower at end of the word than in any other part of the sentence. In a question of surprise, as, The man died last night, Did he? we have what may be called a circumflex sentence stress, the pitch being highest in the middle of the sentence and lowest at the end.

I hope at some future time to secure phonographic reproductions of this accent, when I shall be able to examine it more carefully, and I may then be able to offer some explanation of it.

If now we examine the material presented, and if we admit as we must, that the various expressions depart sufficiently from normal English to warrant our calling them dialectal, it will be an easy matter to characterize these variations and to attribute them to their proper causes. The Carlisle vernacular reflects very clearly the dual character of the population. We have found a few survivals of obsolete or obsolescent English due to the influence of the Scotch-Irish, but it must be remembered that the persistence of some of these was traceable to the influ-



ence of similar German words. The vast majority of all the deviations from the English norm are directly traceable to the influence of the Germans, who since the latter part of the eighteenth century, formed a considerable part of the population. This, I believe, has been sufficiently proved in the foregoing pages, but if other proof is needed, it is only necessary to remark that nearly all of the peculiarities of the Carlisle vernacular are also found in the speech of other localities where there is a considerable Pennsylvania German population.

That the Germans have left the imprint of their language upon the speech of the town is not surprising. It would be strange, indeed, if one race living for more than a century side by side with another had not left behind it some clear traces of its existence. The surprising thing is not that there are some relics of German in Carlisle English, but that there are not more. We must remember, however, what was said in the beginning. Carlisle to-day is completely Americanized; the German element has been amalgamated and all the cultural forces in the community are tending to destroy rather than preserve traces of German influence. The older Germans either have passed or are rapidly passing away; the children in the schools read only English, and when they come in contact with teachers who come from a distance or who, through training, have their attention called to their peculiarities. As they grow up, many of the boys leave town and, once away from Carlisle, they notice how their speech differs from that of those with whom they associate. Quite a number of young men and women enter the college (Dickinson) and while there have their attention continually called to whatever dialectal expressions they may use.

Finally, the large number of people who are practically dialect-free, are the most powerful element in the process of normalization which is constantly in progress. With all these forces at work it is, of course, only a question of time till these expressions disappear from use.

In view of these facts it seemed desirable to record the vari-

ous expressions to which attention has been called, while they are still an integral part of the town's vocabulary. In so doing I hope to have contributed slightly to our knowledge of the German influence upon the language of Pennsylvania, an influence which is, of course, recognized by those who know, but which can only be definitely determined by investigations similar to the one made here.

WILLIAM PRETTYMAN.

Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.

## PATRIOTISCHE BETRACHTUNGEN.\*

Wer im Laufe der letzten Jahre die deutsche Heimat wiederholentlich besucht hat, dem ist gewiss aufgefallen, wie sehr drüben das Interesse für unser Land von Jahr zu Jahr gestiegen ist. Die Amerikafahrt des Prinzen Heinrich von Preussen, die grossartige Beschickung der St. Louiser Weltausstellung von seiten des Deutschen Reiches und das stetige Anschwellen der Literatur über Amerika und die Amerikaner liefern die deutlichsten Beweise für dieses Interesse.

Aber man macht sich trotzdem in Deutschland eigentlich kein klares Bild von unseren Zuständen, und die Flut der Bücher, Broschüren und Feuilletons über Amerika hat sich bis jetzt noch nicht fähig erwiesen, die in Deutschland landläufigen phantastischen Vorstellungen über Amerika zu berichtigen. Die Verfasser kennen in manchen Fällen das Land nur obenhin aus flüchtiger Durchfahrt, oder sie kamen gar über die Umgegend von Hoboken mit ihren landschaftlichen und alkoholischen Reizen überhaupt nicht hinaus. Bei anderen Touristen ist wenigstens das redliche Bemühen ersichtlich, in das Wesen der fremden Kultur einzudringen, und das vorhandene Verständnis für manche ihrer greifbarsten Erscheinungen verdient Anerkennung. Aber wenn man etwa wahrnimmt, wie sich selbst unter den liebevoll zeichnenden Händen eines Wilhelm von Polenz das Bild Amerikas bis zur Unkenntlichkeit verzerrt, so lernt man begreifen, dass sich vermittels blosser Reiseindrücke das wahre Wesen eines Volkes nie und nimmermehr erfassen lässt. Jedoch selbst den Urteilen langjähriger Kenner ist nicht ohne weiteres zu

---

\*Der letzte Teil dieses Aufsatzes ist einer von dem Verfasser auf dem Germanistischen Kongress gehaltenen Rede (Siehe G. A. A., N. S. II., No. 12) entnommen.

trauen. In der Tat vermochte bisher kein einziger unter ihnen Amerikas Leben in seiner ganzen Vielwendigkeit organisch zu erklären. Kein Mensch ist eben imstande, den Historiker und Politiker, National-Oekonomen und Juristen, Soziologen und Techniker, Kaufmann und Lehrer in einer Person zu vereinen. Und das wäre im Grunde die Voraussetzung für die durchaus zufriedenstellende Behandlung eines so komplizierten Themas.

Unter den Vorarbeiten auf dem weiten Felde der Amerika-kunde gebührt Prof. Münsterbergs zweibändigem Werk „Die Amerikaner“ der erste Platz. Ja, hätte Münsterberg nicht durch seine Absicht, drüben gute Stimmung für uns zu machen, sein Urteil gelegentlich auf Abwege führen lassen; litte nicht sein gründliches und in den meisten Stücken gediegenes Buch unter dem übermässigen Schematismus des Grundbaus; und bezöge sich nicht seine Darstellung mehr auf eine besondere Gesellschaftsschicht als auf die Gesamtheit des amerikanischen Volkes, so hätte das reiche, beinahe universelle Wissen des Verfassers im Bunde mit seiner sicheren Menschenkenntnis und Künstlerklarheit hier ein wahrhaft monumentales Werk zustande gebracht. Unleugbar hatte Münsterberg während eines zwölfjährigen Aufenthaltes mehr über Land und Leute nachgedacht und gelernt als die grosse Mehrzahl eingewanderter oder auch hier geborener Deutschen. Denn gerade der Deutschamerikaner trägt wunderbarer Weise eine krasse Unkenntnis des amerikanischen Lebens im volleren Sinn des Wortes zur Schau. Viele in unserer Mitte halten es anscheinend für überflüssig, sich mit ihren Mitbürgern anderen Stammes anders als auf rein geschäftlichem Wege einzulassen. Meisthin bezeichnen wir diese kurzweg als „Amerikaner“ und betrachten und behandeln sie, wenn der Ausdruck gestattet ist, durchaus als Aussenseiter. Während Münsterberg das Typische des Amerikanertums bei einem Häuflein Auserwählter sucht, verfallen wir gemeinhin in den noch schlimmeren entgegengesetzten Fehler und halten uns an die rohesten Elemente. Ueberhaupt haben wir Deutschen ja für die hässlichen Auswüchse an einer

Volksphysiognomie einen schärferen Blick als für die schöneren Züge. So ist es manchem von uns zur zweiten Natur geworden, in geradezu unverantwortlicher Weise über alles Amerikanische ins Blaue hinein zu verallgemeinern; gerade wie ein deutscher Weltausstellungsbeamter, der in meiner Gegenwart das Malheur hatte, dass seine spiegelblanke Lackstiefelette beim Uebergang über eine unserer belebtesten Fahrstrassen mit einem erratischen Kuhfladen in intime Berührung trat, worauf der junge Herr mit einem Blick massloser Verachtung auf die Ursache seines Missgeschicks mir den zerschmetternden Wahrspruch zuschleuderte: „Echt amerikanisch!“

Weil ich nun glaube, dass bei engerem Zusammenschlusse der deutsch- und der englischsprechenden Elemente manches leidige Missverständnis aus der Welt geschafft und ein innerer Zusammenwuchs angebahnt würde, dessen Vorteile keineswegs von dem Deutschen mit dem Preise seiner angestammten Eigenart zu bezahlen wären, deshalb halte ich nachfolgende Erörterungen für nicht unzeitgemäss. Denn meines Erachtens können wir einen Umschwung in der jetzt abwärts gleitenden Volksmoral Amerikas nicht durch einseitiges noch so lautes Betonen vereinzelter Grundsätze oder durch einen gelegentlichen steifen Ansturm gegen diese oder jene Hochburg nativistischer Beschränktheit herbeiführen. Mit solchen Mitteln lässt sich höchstens hie und da ein zeitweiliger Sieg erringen, der auf beiden Seiten viel Erbitterung zurücklässt und die unterlegene Partei bei der ersten Gelegenheit zu noch verzweifelteren legislatorischen Dummheiten treibt. Das Heil hängt vielmehr einzig und allein davon ab, ob es gelingt, die öffentliche Meinung durch unausgesetzte erzieherische Arbeit zu beeinflussen und, wo nötig, umzustimmen.

Ich fürchte nicht, mir den Namen eines guten Deutschen zu verscherzen, wenn ich nun ganz aufrichtig ausspreche, was mir bei der anzustrebenden reformatorischen Tätigkeit als das Aller nötigste für uns selbst erscheint: nämlich, ein Quentchen Selbstreform oder, wenn dies weniger hart klingt, ein wenig Selbstveredelung.

Wir haben in den letzten Jahren sehr viel Lobendes über unsere Tüchtigkeit zu hören bekommen; fast will mich bedünken, allzuviel. Man verzeihe es der redlichen Absicht, wenn sich hier ein Wort hervorwagt, das weniger schmeichelhaft anzuhören und dennoch der Beachtung nicht unwürdig sein mag. Es kommt mir nämlich zuweilen vor, als ob unter uns Deutschamerikanern eine falsche sittliche Genügsamkeit Platz gegriffen habe. Man kann ja freilich unserem öffentlichen Gehaben nicht viel Schlimmes nachsagen; wir stehen in bezug auf politische und bürgerliche Rechtlichkeit relativ sogar hoch, obschon wir uns von Korruption durchaus nicht völlig freigehalten haben. Aber auf eine Tugend, die bestenfalls in Unterlassung der Niedertracht besteht, unseren Ruhm zu bauen, wäre abgeschmackt. Nun, wir können ihn gottlob auch auf positive Leistungen begründen. Legen wir jedoch den ehrenvollsten, d. h. den strengsten, Massstab an uns selber an, so wirft sich uns eine ganze Reihe von Fragen recht verfänglicher Art auf. Haben wir dem amerikanischen Leben die besten Züge unserer Wesenheit starkwillig aufgeprägt? Sind deutscher Idealismus, deutsche Tiefe und Gründlichkeit, deutsche Treue und deutscher Opfermut der Sauerteig unseres politischen Lebens geworden? Auf das glorreiche Wirken unserer deutschen Pilgerväter auf diesem Boden haben wir ein gutes Recht stolz zu sein. Aber wir sollten auch unbefangen prüfen, ob unser eigener Beitrag zu den geistigen und moralischen Werten Amerikas, und wäre er an sich noch so imposant, in einem genügenden Verhältnis zur führenden Stellung des deutschen Volkes in Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur steht, und ob wir selbst Schritt halten mit den Kulturfortschritten unseres Geburtslandes; denn andernfalls steht uns die Befugnis nicht zu, uns als die Missionare einer überlegenen Bildung zu betrachten. Platter, dünkelfhafter Widerspruch vermag die eine Tatsache nicht aus der Welt zu schaffen, dass das Volk der Dichter und Denker im neuen Lande einer arg vergrößerten Lebensweise huldigt; dass hier, wo der Erwerb einen unverhältnismässigen Raum im menschlichen Ge-

dankenkreise einnimmt, Kunst, Poesie und Wissenschaft auch im Deutschtum eine sehr untergeordnete Rolle spielen.

Doch wenden wir uns nach dieser flüchtigen Selbstbeschau nun dem Landsgenossen ohne Bindestrich zu, den wir nach meiner Ansicht viel zu ungenügend kennen und mit dem wir uns weit besser bekannt machen müssen, weil er schon durch seine Ueberzahl den bestimmenden Faktor der öffentlichen Meinung ausmacht. Ich will auch dem Amerikaner keine Komplimente dreheln. Wenn wir ihn wenig kennen, so trägt er selbst zum grossen Teil die Schuld. Führt er doch ein wahres Doppelleben, dieser „Amerikaner.“ Wilhelm von Polenz soll einmal geäussert haben, der Amerikaner sei der reinlichste Mensch an seiner Person und dabei der grösste munizipale Schweinigel. Diese skrupulöse persönliche Sauberkeit, die hier nicht in Frage gezogen werden soll, und die unbezweifelbare bodenlose Lotterei in der Oeffentlichkeit sind wohl symptomatisch für einen durchgreifenden Unterschied. Im Privatleben zeigt sich der Amerikaner als Familienmann, Hauswirt, Gesellschafter in ungleich vorteilhafterem Lichte als im Geschäfts- und Strassenleben, wo er es anscheinend darauf abgesehen hat, seine allerunliebenswerteste Seite herauszukehren. Während somit in der Häuslichkeit und Gesellschaft ein tadelloser, nicht selten ein wahrhaft vornehmer Ton herrscht, so sind im öffentlichen Leben alle erdenklichen Rücksichtslosigkeiten und Rüpeleien an der Tagesordnung; ein widerlicher Mangel an Lebensart herrscht überall, wo fremde Menschen in grösserer Zahl zusammenkommen, und empörende Unarten wie beispielsweise das ekelhafte Ausspucken auf Bürgersteigen und der Strassenbahn werden von den wohlherzogensten Menschen widerspruchslos geduldet, weil in einem demokratischen Staatswesen vermeintlich ein jeder tun und lassen darf was ihm beliebt und keine Klasse sich ihre Manieren von einer anderen vorschreiben zu lassen braucht. Dass bei aller Ungechliffenheit unser Volksleben auch schöne Züge aufweist, verdient gerechtermassen hervorgehoben zu werden. Namentlich

ist die Hochachtung des Amerikaners für die Frau und seine zarte Aufmerksamkeit gegen sie, der man in allen Ständen begegnet, der unverkennliche Ausfluss einer wahrhaft ritterlichen Gesinnung. Schade, dass auch diese Ruhmesmedaille ihre Kehrseite hat; anders gesagt, dass sich der Amerikaner für die dem schwächeren Geschlecht erwiesene Höflichkeit an seinen männlichen Mitmenschen aufs gründlichste schadlos hält — dass er die richtige Mittellage zwischen ungehöriger Vertraulichkeit und einer an Grobheit streifenden Kürze so schwer trifft. Von altersher sind diese Erziehungsmängel allen Besuchern des Landes aufgefallen und unzähligemal an uns gerügt oder belacht worden, und doch ist von einer Besserung der amerikanischen Umgangsformen nichts zu merken. Sehr wohlwollende Beurteiler wollen nun in alldem nur ein kleines Uebermass einer an sich nicht hoch genug zu schätzenden Nationaleigenschaft, nämlich eines immerwährend regen Unabhängigkeitssinns erblicken. Wer aber allen Anstandsregeln hohnspricht, um seinen „Freiheitssinn“ vor der Welt laut zu bekunden, der besitzt nach meinem Dafürhalten weder ein richtiges Gefühl für die Rechte seines Nächsten, noch einen feineren Sinn für seine eigene innere Unabhängigkeit. Denn diese wahrt man sich am besten, indem man in Aeusserlichkeiten der Konvention ihren Zoll entrichtet. Je wahrhaft freier der Mensch, desto weniger Roheit haftet ihm an. Freilich wird aber der Geist der Selbstbestimmung kulturlähmend, ja kulturverheerend wirken, wenn er nicht durch frühe Disziplin gezügelt wurde. Auf die Erziehung in Haus und Schule geht das Wohl und Wehe der Republik am letzten Ende zurück.

Hat sich unsere Erziehung ihrer höchsten Aufgabe gewachsen gezeigt? Einsichtsvolle Schulmänner haben ihr die Unfähigkeit vorgeworfen, ein Volk mit kräftig ausgeprägtem Bürgersinn heranzubilden. Mit noch grösserer Berechtigung kann sie für unseren bedauernswerten Mangel an öffentlichem Dekorum zur Verantwortung gezogen werden. In seinem vorhin erwähnten Werke deckt Hugo Münsterberg die wahre Quelle unserer pädagogischen Misswirtschaft auf. „Wo das Bewusst-



sein der Identität zwischen politischer Autorität und Untertan so lebhaft den Einzelnen erfüllt, da wird es schwer halten, das Gefühl des Respekts für irgend ein Individuum einwurzeln zu lassen. Das Gefühl der Gleichheit wird sich auch da vordrängen, wo die Natur nicht Gleichheit gewollt hat, vor allem zwischen der Jugend und dem Alter. Eine gewisse Respektlosigkeit wird sich in der Familie ausbilden und wird ungestraft bleiben, weil sie oberflächlich dem politischen System des Landes zu entsprechen scheint; die Eltern werden es selbst zur Theorie erheben, dass Kinder gebeten und überredet werden müssen, und dass es falsch sei, sie zu zwingen oder zu strafen, und dass die Schule im selben Geiste vorgehen müsse. Und so wächst eine Jugend auf, die niemals die Segnungen eines äusseren Zwanges, einer strafenden Zucht empfunden hat.“ Auch folgende bedeutsame Stelle des zweiten Bandes behandelt das Kapitel von dem in Freiheit dressierten Jung-Amerika: „Heute herrscht als pädagogische Grundmaxime eine widersinnige Uebertragung des Gleichheitsgedankens von der grossen sozialen Welt in die Kinderstube. Es gilt als ein Dogma, im Grunde jeden Zwang und, wenn möglich, jede Strafe aus der Erziehung zu beseitigen und jeden Fortschritt und jede Besserung durch den Appell an die Einsicht und den guten Willen des Kindes zu bewirken. Die ganze Erziehung und Schulung bewegt sich demgemäss auf der Bahn geringsten Widerstandes. Das Kind soll durchaus seinen eigenen Neigungen folgen, und alles das ist im Grunde nur die letzte Konsequenz jener Anerkennung sozialer Gleichheit zwischen allen Persönlichkeiten.“ Die chauvinistische Verblendung des Amerikaners erschwert es den wenig zahlreichen mutvollen Kritikern unseres öffentlichen Schulwesens, mit ihrer Meinung durchzudringen. Ja man muss sich wundern, wenn trotz der Aussicht, von der Krippe fortgejagt zu werden, dann und wann die Ueberzeugungstreue eines Fachmanns die gefährliche Kraftprobe ablegt. Tatsächlich ist im Lande der freien Rede nichts so verhasst wie freimütige Kritik und nichts so beliebt und ein-

träglich wie hohle Lobhudelei. Von dem ältesten Kultursitz des Landes ist zweimal im Laufe der letzten Jahre ein beherzigenswerter Mahnruf erklingen, leider ohne einen dauernden Nachhall zu wecken. Der hochverdiente greise Professor Charles Eliot Norton schloss vor etwa vier Jahren seine Abschiedsrede an die Harvard Abiturienten folgendermassen: „So ziehet denn hinaus, ihr Jünglinge, und waltet Eures Berufs im Lande. Dieser Beruf aber bestehe darin, zur Kultivierung unseres bildungsarmen, halbzivilisierten teuren Vaterlandes nach Kräften beizutragen.“ Kurz darauf bekannte sich Präsident Eliot von der gleichen Universität kühl besonnen zu der Ueberzeugung, dass unsere öffentliche Schule ihrer Aufgabe, die junge Generation mit den hohen Idealen der Bürgertugend zu erfüllen, bisher nicht gerecht wurde. Freilich verschwieg der ausgezeichnete Schulmann, dass es um die höheren Bildungsanstalten einschliesslich der grossen „Colleges“ in gedachter Hinsicht nicht besser steht. Es wäre hier nicht am Platze, auf die Unzulänglichkeiten unseres Erziehungswesens Punkt für Punkt einzugehen, ebensowenig wie auf ihre auch von europäischen Autoritäten anerkannten Vorzüge. Nur zum geringeren Teile, darauf allein sei hingewiesen, fallen die Schwächen unserer Schulerziehung der Lehrerschaft zur Last. Im wesentlichen sind sie das Erzeugnis der allgemeinen Gleichgültigkeit gegen alles, was ausserhalb der Sphäre des handgreiflich Nützlichen liegt. Zu seinem eigenen Unheil hat hier der Laie die Macht, seine sogenannte „praktische“ Auffassung der Dinge als obersten Grundsatz dem Lehrgang und Betrieb der öffentlichen Schulen aufzunötigen. Da es ihm im Grunde mit der Bildung nur insoweit heiliger Ernst ist als sich ihre Früchte ohne unnützen Zeitverlust gegen bare Münze an den Mann bringen lassen, so verdrängen die sogenannten Realfächer in Volks- und Bürgerschule immer mehr die humanistischen Disziplinen. Der praktische Standpunkt der niederen und mittleren Schulen einschliesslich der „High Schools“ lässt sich natürlich recht wohl verteidigen. Wenn es nur dabei bliebe! Aber so be-

eilen sich die höheren Lehranstalten, also Colleges und technische Hochschulen, mit charakteristischer Unterwürfigkeit, auch ihrerseits die Befehle der öffentlichen Meinung zu vollstrecken. Weil Publikum ein unverbesserlicher Erfolgeanbieter ist, so wetteifern die Universitäten mit einander um die höchste Frequenz. Um des grossen Zulaufs willen macht man in bezug auf Vorbildung und Studiengang der Hörschaft die weitestgehenden Zugeständnisse. In den meisten Colleges wird dem unerfahrenen und in der Regel nicht allzu ernstveranlagten „Freshman“ die Auswahl der Kollegien gänzlich anheimgestellt und dadurch seine geistige Ausbildung oft der Gefahr, stückhaft oder einseitig zu werden, ausgesetzt. Auch ausserhalb des Hörsaals wird dem amerikanischen Musensohn ein reichstes Mass von Freiheit gewährt. Der Zauber des Studentenlebens zieht gewiss mehr junge Leute nach der Hochschule als die gelehrtesten Professoren, grössten Bibliotheken und besten Laboratorien. Freilich hat das amerikanische Studentenleben nicht das deutsche Gepräge. In seinem Mittelpunkt steht statt Kneipe und Paukboden der athletische Sport. Kein guter Deutscher wird mit einem einzigen missgünstigen Worte der Jugend ihre natürliche und gesunde Lust an frischer Leibesübung trüben wollen. Was auch ihre Eigenart sei, so ist ja doch die amerikanische Athletik desselben Geistes Kind, der in Deutschland die Turnerei geboren hat. Hingegen sind die Auswüchse der akademischen Athletik aufs entschiedenste zu verurteilen: die Roheiten, namentlich beim Fussballspiel; die Kniffe und Finten, welche die kämpfenden Parteien gegen einander ausspielen; vor allem der verächtliche Schachergeist, der sich in die athletischen Körperschaften eingeschlichen hat und sich in allerhand Lug and Trug und verächtlichen Bräuchen bekundet. Den ärgsten Uebelstand bildet in unseren Colleges das Berufsatletentum. Nach der Auffassung der Studentenschaft bringt ein schneidiger Fussballspieler seiner „Alma Mater“ mehr Ruhm ein als der tüchtigste Professor. Kein Wunder, wenn die Herren Athleten so sehr von dem Bewusstsein ihres Wertes

durchdrungen sind, dass sie sich den Aufenthalt auf Universitäten von ihren ehrsüchtigen Kommilitonen teuer bezahlen lassen. Wirklich bekommt infolge dieser Zustände ein „Coach“ oder „Trainer“ für seine Leistungen verhältnismässig das Drei- bis Fünffache von dem Gehalt eines ordentlichen Professors.

Sollte diese Abschweifung ausser Beziehung zu unserem Thema stehen? Nicht doch. Alle zuständigen Behörden sehen ganz gut ein, dass das Athletentum, wie es jetzt betrieben wird, der Pflege vornehmerer akademischer Ideale hindernd im Wege steht. Allein dem Unfug steuern hiesse sich der öffentlichen Meinung widersetzen, und dazu besitzen Kuratorien, Fakultäten und Präsidenten einfach nicht den Mut. So kommt es, dass auch die Pflegestätten der Wissenschaft mit dem Strom der öffentlichen Meinung treiben, statt, wenn es not tut, gegen ihn zu schwimmen und ihm neue Betten zu bahnen und anzuweisen.

Wenn man einer oftgehörten Klage Gehör schenken wollte, so stünden unsere Fakultäten in einer Art Untertanenverhältnis zu den übermässig reichen Gründern und Gönnern der amerikanischen Privatuniversitäten. Dies stellt sich bei unbefangener Untersuchung als unwahr heraus. In der Regel machen diese Männer die Wucht ihres Einflusses in keiner egoistischen Weise geltend. An Ausnahmen fehlt es leider nicht, und das unentwickelte Standesbewusstsein des Gelehrten suggeriert ihm daher von selbst einen „Druck von oben“ und mahnt zur Vorsicht. In Wirklichkeit geht der Druck von ganz anderer Seite aus und zwar von der grossen Masse, die unter dem hypnotischen Zauber der sogenannten „Captains of Industry“ steht und deren Urteile gedankenlos übernimmt. Schliesslich ist auch die Auflehnung einzelner Gebildeten gegen die Verpöbelung des akademischen Lebens ziemlich belanglos. Kaum gehört verhallt wirkungslos ihr Protest, während der vom Glanze seiner Millionen umstrahlte Dollarkönig der beifälligen Aufmerksamkeit der halben Nation gewiss ist. Die grossen Herren aus diesen Kreisen wissen dies und handeln danach. Mit einem Stolze, der weissgott einer besseren Sache

würdig wäre, pochen sie auf ihre Unbildung oder Halbbildung und erheben so dreist die Pfuscherei zur Maxime. Die Welt hört aus ihrem Munde die grössten Albernheiten andächtig an, und der Fortschritt stellt seine Gangart nach der Uhr dieser Schosskinder des Glücks. Die meisten von ihnen predigen das unverblümete Evangelium des pekuniären Erfolges. Ein Wortführer dieser Richtung begründete kürzlich mit köstlicher Logik die neue Erziehungstheorie. Noch nie, so verkündete er, boten sich der jungen Männerwelt ähnliche Gelegenheiten zu einer glänzenden Laufbahn. Denn, versicherte er, die grossen „Korporationen“ sehen sich verlangend nach den tüchtigsten Kräften um; das Gehalt spielt bei der Anstellung für solche Leute gar keine Rolle mehr. Er selbst sei zu seinem grossen Bedauern etwas zu früh zur Welt gekommen, um für seine eigene Person aus der günstigen Konjunktur Nutzen zu ziehen. Mit anderen Worten, es tut diesem grossen Volkserzieher aufrichtig leid, statt 3—4 Millionen jährlich bloss 1—2 Millionen einzustreichen.

Ueber den Einfluss solch erfolggekrönter Häupter gebe man sich keiner falschen Beruhigung hin. Jeder Tag bringt neue Beweise, welch unbegrenztes Vertrauen Männer vom Schlage des oben zitierten Dollarkönigs im öffentlichen Leben geniessen. In allen wichtigen Fragen führen sie das grosse Wort. In den Synedrien der Politik haben sie Kraft eines ungeschriebenen Gesetzes Sitz und Stimme. Alle feierlichen Anlässe zieren sie mit ihrer Gegenwart. In den Kuratorien der Hochschulen und Bibliotheken sind sie in der Mehrheit. Bei ihnen erholt sich der betriebsame Zeitungsmensch Rats in allen schwierigen Lebenslagen. Sie tun kaum die Lippen auf, so spitzt Publikus das Ohr. Ich bin überzeugt, wenn Herr J. Pierpont Morgan oder Herr John D. Rockefeller den tollen Einfall hätte, eine Vorlesung über die Verwandtschaft des Finnischen mit dem Petschenegischen zu halten, er brauchte in keiner amerikanischen Stadt um den Saal und die Zuhörer verlegen zu sein.

Vielleicht habe ich den Einfluss der kommerziellen Macht-

inhaber auf unsere Erziehung überschätzt. Es kam mir darauf an zu zeigen, wie verfehlt es ist, in einem demokratischen Staatswesen die Lenkung des Volkswillens einer mit besonderer Macht ausgestatteten Klasse zu überantworten. Denn ein für allemal sollte man sich des Wahnes entschlagen, als sei die öffentliche Meinung nur die Summe oder Potenz aller individuellen Meinungen im Lande, in anderem Bilde die Resultierende aller Willenskräfte. Dies ist darum nicht der Fall, weil jeweilig ein beträchtlicher Teil der nationalen Willensenergie lahmgelegt ist oder aus freien Stücken gebunden bleibt. Das naive Bewusstsein der Masse kommt nirgends rein zum Ausdruck. Bald färbt dieses, bald jenes Element in ihr am stärksten ab. Daher ist es im höchsten Grade wünschenswert, dass die moralisch Tüchtigsten und geistig Entwickeltsten sich an der Erzeugung des Volksgewissens am kräftigsten beteiligen. Die Gebildetsten kommen hierzulande zu wenig zu Worte. Der Lehrerstand zumal hält wie schon angedeutet mit seinen wahren Ansichten zu gern hinter dem Berge. Dafür reden Prediger und Juristen zwar reichlich, aber sie beschränken sich meistens auf die Breittretung gefahrloser Selbstverständlichkeiten.

Noch auf einen weiteren bedenklichen Umstand sei hingewiesen. Es ist nicht abzustreiten, dass zur Lösung sittlicher Fragen ganz einfacher Art die Unterscheidungskraft der sogenannten öffentlichen Meinung hinreicht. Nichtsdestoweniger tritt selbst bezüglich solcher Fragen gleich eine Teilung in der öffentlichen Meinung ein, sobald sie aus der platonischen Sphäre in die praktische hinüber und an ein leibhaftes, greifbares Thema herantreten. In Amerika erfolgt diese Spaltung (wie anderwärts) gemeinhin nach Massgabe einer schon bestehenden Parteiung. Nur unterscheidet sich unser Parteiwesen, namentlich im politischen Leben, durch seine dualistische Organisation. Der Amerikaner ist kein Freund der feineren Schattierung, der „persönlichen Note.“ Er fällt seine Entscheidung am liebsten nach dem altbewährten Schema: entweder — oder. Gut und

schlecht, dazwischen erkennt er keine Nuancen. Zudem kostet es ihn keine grosse Ueberwindung, dem wirklichen oder vermeintlichen Parteiwohl die eigene Meinung unterzuordnen, weil er in politischer Hinsicht besser geschult ist als der Mitteleuropäer, teils aber auch weil er seine geistigen Rechte weniger hochhält als jener. Um seines Gewissens willen sich klipp und klar zur Gegenpartei zu schlagen bedeutet für den Politiker den Verlust allen Einflusses. Selbst in einem einzigen Punkte sich gegen die Partei aufzulehnen stempelt den Parteimann zum „Mugwump“ und zieht politische Entwurzelung nach sich. In vielen Fällen bleibt man ein Republikaner oder Demokrat ohne innere Gründe, aus blossem Familiensinn, weil der Vater und der Grossvater auch schon zu der „Grand Old Party“ gehört haben. So bewahrheitet sich das Goethe'sche Wort:

Vernunft wird Unsinn, Wohltat Plage. —  
Weh dir, dass du ein Enkel bist.

Die mögliche Erleuchtung der öffentlichen Meinung durch eine die Parteipolitik an Geist und Bürgertugend hoch überragende Persönlichkeit, wie sie uns durch einen seltenen Glücksfall in Karl Schurz beschieden war, bricht sich an dem starren Fanatismus des politischen Lebens. Nur von den Zinnen der Partei herab soll das Licht in die Masse dringen.

Die gleiche graue Eintönigkeit bedeckt alle Felder der geistigen Tätigkeit. Welches Land der Kulturwelt hat eine so farblose Literatur wie das freie, selbstbestimmte Amerika? Wo wird noch infolge der Unduldsamkeit gegen Originalität solch ein Götzendienst mit Gemeinplätzen getrieben? Wo werden mittelmässige Talentchen so oft als Genies bejubelt? In einem Wort: Wo herrscht ein annähernd gleicher Notstand an scharf profilierten Persönlichkeiten?

Fasse ich meine Betrachtungen zusammen, so erscheint mir die sogenannte öffentliche Meinung als das gemeinsame Fabrikat des tausendköpfigen Durchschnittsmenschen und des geriebenen

Machers, die vereint den Widerstand der unabhängigen Intelligenzen besiegen oder ihn mit Leichtigkeit neutralisieren. Waren es etwa die Gebildetsten und Besten oder waren es im Gegenteil die empfindsamen Banausen und die schlaun Trübfischer, die den Krieg mit Spanien heraufbeschworen? Die gleich darauf die Vereinigten Staaten in ein ebenso nutzloses wie gefahrenschwan-geres Kolonialabenteuer stürzten?

Es soll nicht gelegnet werden, dass die öffentliche Meinung sich manches guten Gedankens bemächtigt, manche nützliche Reform ausführt, und alle Jubeljahr einmal unter dem Antrieb wohlverdienter Gewissensbisse eine erlösende Tat vollbringt — beispielsweise die Sklavenbefreiung. Ueberhaupt ist der Idealismus des Amerikaners gar nicht schwer zu wecken; nur wird er zu leicht das Opfer nervöser Ueberreizung. Alsdann verfallen wir unserer schlimmsten Volkskrankheit, der Hysterie, gegen deren Ausschreitungen das Wort der Weisen, das Rechtsgefühl der Nation, ja unter Umständen sogar die vom Volke selbst eingesetzte Autorität sich machtlos erweist.

Zur Verdeutlichung des Vorstehenden diene der schmachvollste Auswuchs des amerikanischen Volkslebens. Ich meine natürlich die Lynchjustiz, die, statt vor der wachsenden Kultur allmählich zurückzuweichen, gerade während der letzten Jahre unerhörte Orgien gefeiert hat. Denn bekanntlich begnügt sich heute die ausschweifende Volkswut nicht mehr, ihr ausersehenes Opfer „with promptness and dispatch“ ins Jenseits zu expedieren: nein, unsagbare, raffiniert grausame Scheusslichkeiten begleiten diese Mordsuchtsanfälle eines gemütsrohen Pöbels. Und, was das Schlimmste an der Sache, die Jurisdiktion des Richters Lynch masst sich schon eine über den „schwarzen Gürtel“ hinausgehende Kompetenzsphäre an. Wo ist nun der Ursprung dieser schimpflichen und anscheinend unheilbaren Verirrung des Masseninstinkts zu suchen? Doch gewiss in der geistig und moralisch am tiefsten stehenden Schichte menschlicher Gesellschaft. Von hier aus dringt bei dem freien Spiel der Kräfte die Ansteckung von unten nach oben.



Noch ein weiteres Beispiel sei angeführt. In mehreren der Südstaaten besteht der ehrsame Brauch, dass der Vater oder Bruder eines verführten Mädchens den Verführer mit der Mordwaffe überrumpelt und ohne Federlesens über den Haufen schießt, welcher einfache Vorgang dann gewöhnlich in den Zeitungen als ein „Duell“ geschildert wird. Zwar schützt den Todschläger der „Genius loci“ nicht vor strafgerichtlicher Verfolgung. Aber es ist noch nie vorgekommen, dass für solch ruchlose Gewalttat einem Menschen ein Härchen gekrümmt worden wäre.

So will es die öffentliche Meinung, und ein hochangesehener Richter aus dem Süden erklärte mir vor nicht langer Zeit, der Usus habe seine und vieler seiner Kollegene rückhaltlose Billigung. Das Erstaunliche an der Sache ist m. E. nicht die Uebernahme des Rächeramts durch private Hände, denn beleidigte Familienehre führt auch anderswo, und gerade in Deutschland mit am häufigsten, zur aussergerichtlichen Züchtigung des Schuldigen. Staunenswert und beschämend ist vielmehr die als selbstverständlich hingegenommene Beiseitesetzung des Gesetzes, die Herabwürdigung seiner Hoheit durch ein possenmässiges Scheinverfahren und die Konnivenz der Richter.

Solche Erscheinungen sind geeignet, auch den unentwegtesten Optimisten nachdenklich zu stimmen.

Viel öfter noch finden wir die öffentliche Meinung zwar nicht, wie in den angeführten Fällen, im offenen Bunde mit verwerflichen Tendenzen, aber, was am Ende nicht gar viel besser, sie stellt sich abseits und betrachtet die grössten Ausschreitungen privater und solidarischer Willkür mit einer Gemütsruhe, für welche leider nichts anderes als eine verhärtete Gleichgültigkeit als zureichende Erklärung dienen kann. Es fallen jahraus, jahrein Menschenopfer unerhört, bloss weil die öffentliche Meinung beide Augen zudrückt gegen die beispiellose Fahrlässigkeit im Verkehrswesen, sowie gegen die verbrecherische Unvorsichtigkeit bei der Erbauung und dem Betrieb von Theatern und anderweitigen Unterhaltungslokalen. Bei jeder schlimmen Katastrophe

legt der Amerikaner einen nicht genug zu rühmenden Opfersinn, einen über jeden Zweifel erhabenen Heldenmut an den Tag. Werden aber die Dinge besser? Allerdings, gehen auf einer Eisenbahn statt der statistisch vorgeschriebenen Rate von zwei bis drei Personen im Tage gleich ein paar Dutzend auf einmal elendiglich zugrunde, oder fordert die Habgier eines Bauspekulanten, Theaterbesitzers, Schiffseigentümers ein Massenopfer an Menschenleben, so kommt unter dem geburtshilflichen Beistand der Sensationspresse die öffentliche Meinung plötzlich in die Wochen. Doch eine Fehlgeburt ist das jedesmalige Ergebnis. Man beruhigt sich, und alles bleibt beim alten. Ueberhaupt ist es merkwürdig, wie oft im privilegierten Lande des Fortschritts der alte Schlendrian das Marschtempo trommelt. Gegen die Macht der toten Gewohnheit erhebt sich nicht leicht ein erfolgreicher Widerspruch. Man denke einmal an die Hekatonben blühender Menschenleiber, die hier alljährlich am vierten Juli, dem eigentlichen Nationalfeiertag, dem grausen Moloch Tradition in den Rachen geworfen werden. Der Tag verdiente wahrhaftig im Kalender schwarz statt rot angestrichen zu werden. Sein Verlauf erinnert in manchen Gegenden beinahe an den bethlehemitischen Kindermord. Wie verhält sich die öffentliche Meinung gegen den gräulichen Unfug? Statt etwas zu seiner Abstellung zu tun, kauft sie den lieben Kleinen das Feuerwerk und sonstige Werkzeug zur Selbstverstümmelung. Abermals ein deutliches Zeichen, wie die Dummheit über den Verstand triumphiert. Denn welcher vernünftige Mensch verurteilt nicht den sinnlos mörderischen Radau? Wer beklagt darin nicht die törichte Verkehrung und Verhöhnung wahrer Vaterlandsliebe? Und besteht nicht trotz alledem der „Glorious Fourth“ in seinem unverfälschten Vandalismus weiter?

Vollends in unserem korrupten Staats- und Städtewesen kommt die Langmut oder Faulheit — wie man's eben nennen will — der öffentlichen Meinung zu unverkennbarem Ausdruck. Während die Volksvertretung mit drakonischen Gesetzen gegen das

sündhafte Sonntagsbier und den physischen und moralischen Pesthauch der Zigarette sich und das ganze Land vor der übrigen zivilisierten Welt blamiert, dürfen die offensichtlichsten Schäden sich tiefer und immer tiefer in unser Volksleben hineinfressen. Wie gross die öffentliche Apathie, zeige wieder ein konkretes Beispiel. Ein Patriot von echtem Schrot und Korn verteidigt auf arg exponiertem Posten die Ehre seiner Stadt gegen eine ruchlose Rotte politischer Brandschatzer. Aber nur ein unansehnliches Fähnlein scharft sich um den Braven. Warum erhebt denn die vox populi nicht ihr ehernes Kriegsgeschrei? Tatsächlich schaut der grosse Haufe der sogenannten Anstandsmenschen mit verblüffender Gleichgültigkeit dem ungleichen Kampfe zu.

“Ich habe mit mehreren Ihrer angesehensten Mitbürger das Thema angeschlagen, aber wenig Anklang gefunden,“ so sagte zu mir ein bekannter Soziologe, „ja, ich fand sogar zu meiner hellen Verwunderung, dass manche Leute die ganze Geschichte lachenswert finden und sich nicht entblöden, dumme Witze darüber zu reissen.“ Wirklich bekundet sich in solch ekelerregender Weise nur allzuoft der gepriesene amerikanische Humor, der oft nichts weiter ist als der bequemste Abfluss einer seichten Lebensauffassung.

Und nun zu dem treuen Spiegelbild der öffentlichen Meinung. Es gibt selbstverständlich bei uns eine Reihe von durchaus anständigen und mit vornehmem literarischem Sinn geleiteten Blättern. Wenn sie sich nur bezüglich ihrer Zahl und ihres Umsatzes mit den Zeitungen gegensätzlicher Richtung messen könnten, der berüchtigten „gelben Presse“, die mit geflissentlicher Preisgebung jeglichen höheren Berufes den gemeinsten Instinkten des Lesepöbels den Hof macht. Zur Erklärung und Entschuldigung dieses unheilvollen Missgewächses wird von amerikanischer Seite verschiedentlich ein Scheingrund angeführt, den auch Professor Münsterberg geltend macht. Er versichert nämlich, nicht weil in Deutschland die Masse gebildeter sei und Besseres verlange, sondern weil sie weniger lesebegierig sei, könne auf deut-

schem Boden die gelbe Presse nicht fortkommen. Dieser Behauptung gegenüber liesse sich jedoch nachweisen, dass auch in Deutschland Blätter mit enormen Auflagen blühen und mit weit grösserer Fülle und Mannigfaltigkeit des Inhalts; dass aber die deutsche Zeitung auf einem unvergleichlich höheren moralischen und schriftstellerischen Niveau steht als die amerikanische. Die Mehrzahl der amerikanischen Journalisten ist unglaublich schwach im Berufsernst. Wer am geschicktesten zu lavieren versteht, kommt am besten vorwärts. Wer fragt nach des Zeitungsmanns ureigener Ueberzeugung? Wer stösst sich daran, wenn infolge Verkaufs seiner Zeitung der federgewandte Leitartikelverfertiger nach dem Grundsatz „Wes Brod ich esse, des Lied ich singe“ von heut' auf morgen eine funkelnagelneue Gesinnung anzieht? Oder wenn während einer erregten Wahlkampagne in einer und derselben Werkstätte für beide Lager Waffen geschmiedet werden? Zur Leichtfertigkeit der redaktionellen Aeussereung gesellt sich ein zweiter Uebelstand: die Zensur. Jawohl, wir haben allen Ernstes eine Zeitungszensur und noch dazu die strengste und willkürlichste die man sich denken kann. Ja sogar eine doppelte. Will eine Zeitung reussieren, so muss sie sich als Organ der Oeffentlichkeit in keinem Punkte der jeweiligen Strömung widersetzen. Sie muss ihren Spalten mit ängstlicher Vorsicht alles fernhalten, was mit der Begriffs- und Vorstellungswelt des grossen Publikums an irgend einer Stelle zusammenprallen könnte oder was über diesen beschränkten Umkreis hinausgeht. Bodenlose Banalität ist die Folge. Nun erheben aber neben den Anforderungen der Leser auch die Interessen eines besonderen Gönnerkreises ihre geheiligten Ansprüche: die der Inserenten, von denen die materielle Wohlfahrt des Blattes am meisten abhängt. Hiervon ist die Folge, dass drunten im Kontor statt droben auf der Redaktionsstube das letzte Wort über den Zulass jeder Zeile, jedes Wörtchens fällt. Es ist meines Wissens schon vorgekommen, dass bei einer ausbrechenden Epidemie die tägliche Bekanntmachung der Erkrankungen auf Vorstellungen eines Konsortiums von grossen In-

serenten hin plötzlich unterblieb. Man stand gerade vor der Wahrscheinlichkeit eines regen Fremdenverkehrs, und die Furcht vor flauem Geschäftsgang überwog in jenem Kreise die Angst vor der Seuche.

In dem literarischen Wert der amerikanischen Presse liegt das Geheimnis ihrer Erfolge erst recht nicht. Der „Arizonastil“ des deutschen Witzblattes enthält bei aller Uebertreibung eine zutreffende Charakteristik des landläufigen Zeitungsstils.

Wenn sich sonach die amerikanische Zeitung aus eigen-nützigen Motiven ihrer Stellung als Volkserzieherin freiwillig begibt, wenn sie ferner auch in formalem Sinne minderwertig ist, so muss, sollte man meinen, ihre oftgerühmte Ueberlegenheit sich auf die Vollkommenheit des Nachrichtendienstes und der Berichterstattung zurückführen lassen. Wahr, bündig und gefällig, das sind die sicheren Kennzeichen guter Reporterarbeit. In allen drei Punkten lässt der deutsche Kollege den Amerikaner weit hinter sich.

Man vergleiche einmal das Personal einer deutschen oder deutschamerikanischen Zeitung mit dem eines englisch-amerikanischen Riesenblattes. Sehr selten ist der amerikanische Reporter den Anforderungen einer grösseren journalistischen Aufgabe gewachsen. So wurde z. B. der enorme Stoff, den die St. Louiser Weltausstellung den Zeitungen bot, nur von deutschen Zeitungen, hiesigen und überseeischen, mit einer des Gegenstandes annähernd würdigen Gründlichkeit, ja auch nur mit dem gebührenden Ernst aufgearbeitet. In englischer Sprache ist im allgemeinen das schalste Gewäsch, mitunter auch trostloser Stumpfsinn über die Weltausstellung verbreitet worden. So steht es eben mit der amerikanischen Zeitungsschreiberei, und es wird und kann nicht besser werden bis sich die Einsicht Bahn gebrochen hat, dass zum Journalistenberuf ausser dem unentbehrlichen „Wuppdich“ und der obligaten fabelmässigen Geschwindigkeit auch ein bisschen Sinn für Verantwortlichkeit und — ein paar Quentchen Schulbildung gehören. Eine Reform des Zeitungswesens wäre von der wohlthätigsten Wirkung und der grössten Tragweite. Denn jedem

Denkenden leuchtet ein, dass ohne die Mitarbeit der Presse eine dauernde Gesundung der öffentlichen Meinung nicht herbeizuführen ist. Es ist purer Unsinn, die Macht der Presse in Abrede zu stellen. Auch diejenigen haben unrecht, die da glauben, die Schädlichkeit des Sensationsblattes werde durch seine in die Augen springende Verlogenheit aufgehoben. Leider besitzt unser Publikum nicht nur eine unersättliche Neugier, sondern es ist zugleich leichtgläubig bis zur Bewusstlosigkeit. Es ist ein psychologisches Rätsel, wie man tagtäglich die Zeitungskost zu sich nehmen kann ohne zu merken, dass man verfälschte Nahrung genießt. Tag für Tag liefert dem Amerikaner sein Leibblatt die stärksten Proben von Unzuverlässigkeit, wie z. B. wenn er über Vorkommnisse liest, bei denen er zugegen war, und es ist an dem ganzen Bericht kein Sterbenswörtchen wahr. Er tut zwar gewöhnlich, als sei er äusserst misstrauisch gegen das gedruckte Wort und als verlasse er sich in allen Dingen auf seinen eigenen Verstand, aber das ist zum grossen Teile eine Selbsttäuschung. Unter der Schwelle des Bewusstseins wird selbst der vorsichtigste Leser von der Lektüre beeinflusst. Die Speise aber, die ihm aus der journalistischen Sudelküche gereicht wird, wird nach und nach vermittels eines unaufhaltsamen Stoffwechsels in „öffentliche Meinung“ umgesetzt.

Zu der oben getadelten Langmut der Masse stimmt ganz und gar die laue Duldsamkeit der Presse. Hochauf lodert dann und wann ihre „saeva indignatio“ über diesen oder jenen Uebelstand; doch die Entrüstung ist von kurzer Dauer. Auch richtet sich der Angriff allemal gegen vereinzelte Krankheitssymptome statt bis zum Herd der Entartung vorzudringen. So hallte vor kurzem der ganze dichte Blätterwald von dem lauten Zetergeschrei wider, das sich gegen die strafwürdige Missverwaltung gewisser Versicherungsgesellschaften erhob. Weshalb hatte denn der Gemein-sinn unserer Presse nicht schon längst dem schmutzigen Treiben jener Magnaten einige Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt? Weshalb blieben ihre Argusaugen für das verdächtige Gebahren blind, bis ihnen Tom Lawson, der edle Ritter, die Erleuchtung brachte?

Und hatte nicht die Presse die Pflicht, bei dieser Gelegenheit zu untersuchen, ob nicht auch ausserhalb des Versicherungswesens im Geschäftsleben Missbräuche bestehen, denen zum Vorteil unseres internationalen Rufes gesteuert werden sollte? Freilich findet der Tiefstand des Zeitungswesens seine Erklärung und eine Art traurige Entschuldigung in den vordersten Tendenzen der Gegenwart. Am Ende hat ja in der Tat jedes Volk die Presse, die es will, d. h. die Presse, die es verdient.

Nun sprechen aber die Anzeichen unwiderleglich, dass in unserer Volksmoral in neuerer Zeit bedenkliche Verschiebungen stattgefunden haben, dass die strengen Tugenden der Väter den bequemeren und einträglicheren Maximen eines neuen Geschlechts den Vorrang überlassen.

In der bedauernswerten Umwertung jener alten moralischen Werte spielt wohl die jetzige Machtstellung der Vereinigten Staaten die wesentlichste Rolle. Seit den blendenden äusseren Erfolgen der neuen Politik in Krieg und Frieden schwelgen wir in kindischer Selbstbewunderung. Und während weise Ratgeber wie Grover Cleveland und der nun leider dahingegangene Karl Schurz mit der vollen Wucht ihrer Ueberzeugung die Blicke des Volkes auf seine Mängel lenken und mit mannhafter Stimme unser nationales Gewissen an die nächstliegenden Aufgaben erinnern, speisen und kitzeln die Steuermänner des neuen Kurses die Selbstzufriedenheit und Selbstüberhebung Jung-Amerikas.

Als Beleg dienen ein paar Stellen aus der Rede des Herrn Elihu Root auf dem grossen Chicagoer Parteitag (1904): „From all our great population active in production and commerce and social progress and intellectual and moral life to a degree never before attained by any people . . . History affords no parallel in any age or country for the growth in natural greatness and power and honor, etc. . . .“

Dies hochtrabende Lob selbst seitens der einsichtsvollsten Parteiführer tönt zwar entschieden besser als es — riecht, aber noch viel besser klänge es in fremdem Munde. Derlei Posaunen-

stösse von hoher Warte befestigen uns in dem gefährlichen Glauben an unsere eigene Vollkommenheit und erschweren dadurch die Selbstdisziplin, deren wir so sehr bedürfen. Von dem Werte unserer bisherigen Errungenschaften, die ich wahrhaftig nicht gering veranschlagen möchte, sind wir ohnehin zur Genüge durchdrungen. Drum soll auch die patriotische Kritik zu Worte kommen.

Weil ich mich in diesen Betrachtungen von dem soeben aufgestellten Grundsatz leiten liess, durfte ich mein Augenmerk vornehmlich auf die wunden Punkte in unserem öffentlichen Leben richten, ohne mir, so hoffe ich, durch meine Offenheit den Vorwurf der Nörgelei zuzuziehen. Es gibt, das weiss ich genau, in gewissen Kreisen eine summarische Art von Gegenkritik. Man dünkt sich unwiderleglich, wenn man dem Kritiker mit dem Rat aufwartet: „Wenn es Ihnen bei uns nicht gefällt, so packen Sie nur schleunigst Ihren Koffer und viel Glück auf den Weg!“ Ein wahrer Patriot wird sich durch derartige Albernheiten in seiner redlichen Arbeit nicht stören lassen. Es ist eine zwar weniger dankbare, aber um desto dankenswertere Aufgabe, mutig an der Veredelung des Vaterlands zu arbeiten als aus seinem moralischen Niedergang materiellen Nutzen zu ziehen und entweder aus diesem Grunde oder aus stumpfer Unwissenheit zu allem, was unter dem rotweissblauen Aushängeschild gesagt und getan wird, Ja und Amen zu sagen und Hurra! zu schreien.

Deshalb aber haben wir, die wir uns Amerikaner nennen, weil wir auf dieser Erde unsere Heimat dauernd aufgeschlagen haben, nur dann das Recht, auf die Unvollkommenheiten der amerikanischen Zivilisation tadelnd hinzuweisen, wenn wir uns im Dienste des neuen Vaterlands unablässig strebend bemühen. Lebt der Deutsche dieser höchsten Verpflichtung nach, so wird sich ihm hierzulande ein reicher Quell geistiger Freuden erschliessen. Amerikaner sein heisst — unter anderem — unfertig sein, und in dem Schosse unabgeschlossener Zustände ruht eine unermessliche charakterbildende Macht. „Die Wirklichkeit“, sagt Münsterberg, „ist zunächst eine sittliche Aufgabe, und gerade weil



die Welt unvollendet, härt, unschön ist und überall umgestaltende Arbeit verlangt, gerade deshalb ist sie unerschöpflich wertvoll: das ist der Grundton und wird es bleiben, solange die neue Welt ihren Idealen treu bleibt.“

Dem Deutschen ist seine spezifische Beteiligung an dem Aufbau oder Umbau amerikanischer Kultur klar und deutlich vorgezeichnet. Er zielt nicht auf die Erbauung eines Staates im Staate, noch wird er sich andererseits damit begnügen wollen, mechanisch als Kärner die Steinchen herbeizuschleppen, auf dass sie die Bauherren und Werkmeister der neuen Kultur als blosses Füllsel zwischen den grossen Bausteinen verwerten. Legen wir daher auf unsere deutschen Sonderinteressen nur insofern Gewicht als dies die Zukunft des ganzen, nach Vollendung seines Charakters ringenden Amerikanervolks von uns heischt.

Ist meine Darstellung der gegenwärtigen Zustände nicht von Grunde aus verkehrt, so folgt mit logischer Konsequenz: die Republik bedarf heute mehr als je des deutschen Idealisten.

Jeder denkende Beobachter sieht ein, dass die Entwicklung Amerikas an ihrem schicksalsschweren Scheidewege angelangt ist. Sie gipfelte in einer noch nicht verflossenen Periode beispiellosen Wohlstands. Mitten in einer Epoche des grossartigsten industriellen Aufschwungs traten die Vereinigten Staaten aus der von George Washington in seiner Abschiedsrede empfohlenen völkerpolitischen Reserve heraus und erhoben sich mit elementarer Kraft zum Range einer Grossmacht. Unter dem wuchtigen Druck dieses Aufschwungs mussten zunächst einige der edelsten Traditionen des jungen Volkes verflachen. Was Wunder, dass grelle Selbstgefälligkeit das Wesen des modernen Amerikanertums durchfärbt, dass Selbstbetonung und Selbstdurchsetzung zu vorwaltenden Charakterzügen zu werden drohen und der echte Patriot der Furcht vor dem Verlust der mühsam gewonnenen idealen Güter Raum zu geben beginnt?

Der deutsche Idealismus in Amerika soll verhindern helfen, dass der platte Wirklichkeitssinn der Gegenwart den ganzen ferneren Werdegang unseres Volkes durchdaure und bestimme.

Der Deutsche zeichnete sich von jeher aus durch sicheren Sinn für seine historische Mission und durch rückhaltslose Hingabe an sie. Drum ergreife er mit Freudigkeit seinen Beruf als ein hoher erzieherischer Faktor, als ein treibendes Element echten Fortschritts. Das vermag er aber nur dann, wenn er sich mit eisengepanzelter Entschlossenheit auf der vollen Bildungshöhe seiner Zeit zu halten weiss. Somit ist ernste Selbstkultur für uns das dringendste Erfordernis.

In ursachlichem Zusammenhang mit der Erkenntnis dieser Verpflichtungen steht das Verhältnis des Deutschamerikaners zu deutschen sowie zur amerikanischen Mitwelt. Es wäre töricht und sündhaft, sich durch Loslösung von der einen oder der anderen seines besten Einflusses auf den Charakter seiner Nachkommenschaft mutwillig zu berauben. Er muss mit beiden Fühlung behalten als ihr natürlicher Vermittler. So werden bei ihm die Reichtümer zweier Zivilisationen aufgestapelt, wird durch ihn der Gütertausch bewerkstelligt, und in seinen Händen bleibt, wenn er will, als Lohn das Allerkostbarste zurück.

Diese Auffassung birgt ferner den kategorischen Befehl, uns mit dem deutschen Geistesleben, das an der modernen Kulturarbeit noch immer den hervorragendsten Anteil hat, in gesteigertem Grade zu beschäftigen. Es äussert in der Gegenwart eine unverkennbare Kraft. Allenthalben sehen wir bedeutende Männer mutvoll um neue Ideale kämpfen. Jeder Tag erzeugt im Bereich der Kunst und Wissenschaft beachtenswerte Werke; und wer aus dem Studium ihrer Erscheinungen die Ueberzeugung schöpft, dass die künstlerische und wissenschaftliche Produktion in reicher Wechselwirkung mit den Wirklichkeiten des Daseins ist, dass sich das deutsche Leben stetig kräftigt und doch zugleich verfeinert, der wird aus dem Grunde seiner Seele wünschen müssen, dass auch wir Amerikaner desselben Geistes einen Hauch verspüren. Unerlässliche Bedingung hierzu ist, dass das deutsche Leben in Amerika grosszügiger werde, dass zugunsten ernstest zielgewissen Bildungstrebens die Ansprüche der Geselligkeits- und Gemüthlichkeitspflege und vor allem die des blossen Zeit-

vertreibs in Familie und Verein strenger als bisher eingeschränkt werden.

Ich predige nicht die Abkehr von den Freuden und Früchten praktischer Tätigkeit. Kein Vernünftiger wird von uns verlangen, dass wir im Wettlauf nach praktischen Zielen hinter Mitbürgern anderen Stammes zurückbleiben und dieweil wir ideelle Luftschlösser bauen, uns um die greifbaren Erfolge des Lebens prellen lassen. Es hat nie einen überzeugteren Idealisten gegeben als Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Folgendes sind seine Worte, vor hundert Jahren gesprochen: „Dass Ideale sich in der wirklichen Welt nicht darstellen lassen, wissen wir. . . . Wir behaupten nur, dass nach ihnen die Wirklichkeit beurteilt und von denen, die dazu Kraft in sich fühlen, modifiziert werden müsse.“ Und an anderer Stelle predigt er den Idealismus der Tat also: „Nichts hat unbedingten Wert und Bedeutung als das Leben; alles Uebrige, Denken, Dichten und Wissen hat nur Wert, insofern es auf irgend eine Weise sich auf das Lebendige bezieht, von ihm ausgeht und in dasselbe zurückzugelangen beabsichtigt.“

Die Wirklichkeit modifizieren, dazu gehört in der Tat viel Kraft und viel Mut. Waffnen wir uns daher in der Rüstkammer unserer glorreichen Geschichte und treten wir mit Habebald und Haltefest, den Gewaltigen des neuen Kurses, unerschrocken den Strauss an.

Es gilt unsere Stammesehre. Wir müssen dafür sorgen, dass der oft gerühmte deutsche Idealismus denen, die nach uns kommen, nicht zu einer blutleeren Abstraktion erstarre. Nur auf diesem Wege werden wir Jüngerer imstande sein, das Lebenswerk unserer ausgezeichneten Vorgänger zu vervollständigen, zu verjüngen, zu vertiefen.

OTTO HELLER.

Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

## BERLIN, A GERMAN SETTLEMENT IN WATERLOO COUNTY, ONTARIO, CANADA.\*

Anyone going East on the Chicago Flyer, having passed Stratford, a junction of various local lines with the Main Line of the Grand Trunk, on its road to Toronto, will be struck by two things. One is a general appearance of prosperity in a monotonous, unattractive country; the other a series of German local names, Baden, Breslau, Berlin. They clearly indicate that German settlers have taken up their abode in these districts.

They are by no means the only ones in Canada. Though the German element is not as prevalent as in the States, there is yet hardly a county without some German village or hamlet. In the States the proportion of the German contingent to their ninety million of inhabitants is greater than their fraction of the only six millions in the Dominion of Canada. Moreover, one can hardly say that the German settlements as such have so great an influence on the national development in Canada as they had and are having in the United States. In Canada they are islands surged round by the waves of a very mixed population; with a predominance of the native element, almost obliterated in the States. There is no well Germanized West to correspond to the French East Canada. Nevertheless, the Germans that are there are looked upon by their neighbors with great respect on account of their thrift, diligence and sober habits, and are trying to uphold their German individuality against the natural inroad of Anglisation.

The settlement in Ontario is numerically the strongest. It consists of about 20,400 people. Nova Scotia and Manitoba

---

\*Read in the Germanic Association, U. of P., Jan. 14, 1807.

follow second and third, the numbers going on decreasing as one travels both East and West. In the West the most important Indian Reserves are to be found, while the East—Quebec with Montreal, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia—is almost entirely under French influence. Yet there are sprinklings of German settlements on the remotest islands, Vancouver and Prince Edwards Isle—the latter having about seven hundred of them. A claim to real German municipal life, though naturally adapted to the laws of the Dominion, can only be granted to the wealthy and important places as found in Waterloo and Manitoba; the most prominent of these is doubtlessly the little but extremely active town of Berlin.

On the whole, it is difficult to trace the historical origin of the various colonies. Direct settlement from the mother country hardly took place in the early days. Early immigration into the States was due frequently to religious persecution of sectarians. Even in counties, like Northern Germany, Scandinavia, Austria, where schism as such was ordinarily winked at, Mennonites and Anabaptists found no mercy for their tenets, as their creed forbade them the bearing of arms and service in the army.

Now Canada, while in French hands, was jealously guarded against immigration of Non-Catholics. Even native French Huguenots were excluded; naturally, no alien heretic of any kind could enter, nor would it have been any gain to him.

But when mismanagement and unsuccessful warfare had given the whole of the Dominion into the power of Great Britain, the bar of religious prejudice fell. The first impetus to immigration from the States was given, when in 1785 the final secession of the American Union from the English mother country severed all connections with a king to whom the Mennonites by their given word still felt pledged. Together with a large band of Loyalists they struck for the Canadian frontier, neither halted nor hindered by the young United States Government, choosing the lands around and above Lake Ontario. It was a place,

though not ill-favored as to climate and fertility, which offered almost unsurmountable difficulties to the Pioneer Settlers, yet it was potentially capable of great commercial and agricultural development.

The laborious settlers, by felling timber, draining swamps and constructing roads, have turned a wilderness into a fruitful country.

There is no doubt the first immigrants were, almost to a man, Mennonites, but soon the German townships developed also into strongholds of Lutheranism and German Baptist Churches, with handsome buildings, an efficient ministry and an active church life. In Berlin a huge, fine Roman Catholic Cathedral, with seminary and school, St. Jerome's, in extensive beautiful grounds, is almost exclusively under English-Irish direction.

The little town of Berlin, which in August, 1906, celebrated its centenary, counts among her twelve thousand inhabitants more than eight thousand pure-blooded Germans, and calls herself proudly "The Best Town in Canada."

It has a claim to such a title, if one considers that really and truly her founders have turned the desolation of the wilderness into a fruitful plain. Of course, she could not improve greatly upon the intolerable dulness of the landscape, even by planting a very pretty park, Victoria Park, with a small deer preserve and running brooklets, furthermore adorned by a handsome bronze bust of the late German Emperor, William I. The Pavilion of this park was signalized only last year by being the scene of a festive banquet—quite German—"with beer," (by request of the illustrious visitor) which the town tendered to the Prince of Battenburg on his tour through Canada. He was invited to Berlin, not by virtue of being a member of the Imperial house of Great Britain, but distinctly of being "a German." Even the melancholy charm of a wide, rolling country is utterly destroyed by a huge array of smokestacks, for Berlin is quite an important industrial centre. We have also indicated that it is a town emi-

nently proud of itself, but it must be conceded, not with the languid old-world pride of past grandeur, long since resting on its oars—no reason for that—but the pride of youth, growth, constant enlargement and conscious improvements.

Its spruce new station, as compared with the other ramshackle edifices along the track, the good solid buildings for business and private residences, all bespeak success and plenty, a thrifty, home-loving, house-proud population.

It is a pity that the general impression has nothing of the German character—where “Hütt’ an Hättchen lehnt sich traut”—American ways of living had taken hold already of the first settlers, and now the whole residential part of the town strikes one like the prosperous suburb of any middle-sized city in the States. There are the two business thoroughfares, crossing at right angles, with trolley cars jingling through them, though only to meet the trains. Even the working population invests first of all in a snug little home—wood, with an outside covering of bricks, yellow or white, showing well-kept yards and even attempts at orchards.

There is hardly any pauperism in Berlin. The whole yearly output for poor relief is below \$250; singularly, this is almost entirely defrayed by the returns of the dog tax which adds greatly to the importance and dignity of Master Canine. On meeting such a rate-payer one gets a supercilious wink and a perfunctory wag. The electric, the gas and the water plants are in the hands of the corporation. They are to some extent recent and very expensive acquisitions, so that the town exchequer is for increasing its funds before tackling the building of a new and handsome town hall. The sewerage and drainage are said to be model plants, keeping Berlin one of the healthiest towns in the Dominion. It has a handsome post office and custom house, a fact that must be mentioned specially, if one looks back upon the unsurmountable difficulties the first comers had to face to get their mail and any other connection with the rest of the

world. A Carnegie Library is the newest of the Public Buildings. It is of the approved pattern, a grey stone building, with oak woodwork and plate glass, and—situated on a corner lot—makes quite a pretty architectural effect. It is well stocked with German literature; in fact, I am prepared to say, nearly half the shelves are filled with German reading; it also has the German newspapers of Berlin and the other towns in Waterloo County.

In the schools the instruction is in English, yet in the upper classes of the public schools German tuition is imparted. Due to my very short stay, I had no opportunity to be present at one of the lessons, yet on the blackboard I found well-known remnants in German script, questions worded in German, showing a fair average standing of the class. The Kindergarten babies, with their flaxen hair, fat cheeks and round blue eyes, remind one of any similar gathering in a Thuringian or Saxon school-house. They sing German ditties and talk German to each other; unfortunately, the young lady at the head of the department—albeit very efficient in managing her obstreperous little charges, does not manage the German tongue. The buildings are airy, comfortable and well kept.

Naturally a young town like Berlin, moreover one exclusively inhabited by an industrial population, cannot boast any art treasures. Doubtless the future will bring these with growing wealth and extending views. It is not deficient in local talent. Pastor: Heinrich Rembe, in his two small volumes, "Aus der Einsamkeit einer Canadischen Landpfarre," strikes many a sweet note. Mr. Jno. Rittinger, owner and editor of the "Journal," is said to command quite a lyrical vein, and apart from literature, instrumental and vocal music, is eagerly cultivated. The exponents of these two melodic branches, the town band and the "Sängerverein," as they occur in small bailiwicks, have sometimes experienced somewhat rough handling, by the reports handed down to history, but let it be said that Berlin is, and has reason to be proud of her famous Nineteenth Regimental Band, and that in 1876 the first "Sängerfest" was celebrated.



As an industrial centre, however, Berlin need not hesitate to enter ranks with cities many times removed from her in size and age, on either side of the globe. Her sons claim that whatever kind of industry they engage in, they do it, and do it well, and that their industry always leads to success. They have the typical small town man's local pride, yet this is the great lever to raise home industry. Just as every workman aims at owning the home he lives in, so the inhabitant of Berlin uses by preference things "made in Berlin." The leading industries are in the Furniture business, Dry Goods, Hardware, also Clockmaking, Buttons, Boots and Shoes, Footwear in felt and rubber. Like all Canadian towns, the furriers are playing quite a part, and as naturally the small town cannot furnish demand for a large output in all these branches, there is a large export trade, not only with Canada and the States, but with Europe.

Commonplace and uninteresting the town may be to the casual stranger who walks the clean streets, very empty unless it be the times when the factories disgorge their hands. He is a prey to hopeless boredom, glad when at night he can fall a victim to an occasional One-Night-Stand-Company, that happens to stop over. Yet there is one wonderful attraction in the drone of this busy-bee-life of the hundred-year-old town, when we consider what it has been, how it was settled. For a hundred years ago these well-ventilated large factories, those neat, comfortable dwellings, ensconced in the green of their own yards, were a howling wilderness. There was swamp nearly from Toronto to Hamilton, and the watercourse, the Grand River, like so many Canadian rivers, either a rapid torrent in the time of the spring freshets, or, dried up by the summer heat, a gravel pit, with a fair show of quicksands.

It was to a most uninviting neighborhood, to a pathless desert, wreaking with malaria, sandy plains that seemed to defy agriculture, that the brave settlers from Bucks and Alleghany\*

---

\*The old Allegheny County in Pa., neighboring Bucks and Franklin.

Counties wended their way, partly prompted by loyalty to their Sovereign in England, to whom they had sworn allegiance which their subtle Mennonite conscience could not discard; partly, in later companies, drawn by friends and relatives who had gone ahead, while the increasing population at home made it difficult for them to maintain their farms. Going west on the Grand Trunk from Montreal, or going up the St. Lawrence, passing where

“Old St. Lawrence sings and smiles  
Round Blue Ontario’s Thousand Isles,”

we reach a Peninsula extending into the Great Lakes, roughly a square with its eastern corner cut off where it joins the mainland. It is bordered on the northeast by the Georgian Bay, the northwest by Lake Huron and the small Lake St. Clair between the two great waters; Lake Huron and Lake Erie washing the whole shore. On the east it is separated from American soil for a short distance by nothing but the Niagara River and Falls, going—with a slight deviation—directly from south to north, joining Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. Between them, however, the dismal swamp of Beverly cut off the land from civilization. It is obvious that a district set right into the juncture of the Great Lakes had unparalleled advantages for navigation, but equal disadvantages as to soil, climate and roads. It was a low-lying country, with no natural facilities for draining the fens and marshes of Hamilton and Toronto, now the two important governmental towns, both on the banks of Lake Ontario, only the former, then called Little York, existed at that time and had to be approached for every legal transaction of any kind; the other, Hamilton, was nothing but a section of the dismal swamp.

The district was held by Indians, the so-called Neutral Nation. These were tribes that did not take part in the bloody warfare between Hurons and Iroquois. In spite of their neutrality they were put out of existence one day by

the treachery of the Iroquois. In the war between England and France the Iroquois were on the English side and the French opposed them, driving them forth from the West. A greater part of them remained loyal during the Revolutionary War, and they were rewarded by the grant of the lands of the former Neutral People, six miles on each side of the Grand River, which the Chippewas had been using as hunting grounds, and which King George bought from them to hand to the Iroquois and their leader Josef Brandt; soon they were convinced that this district was too large for them, and they returned the surplus land to the Crown, the Crown being the middleman between seller and purchaser. The part called Wellington, later Waterloo County, came into the hands of Richard Beasley, James Wilson and John B. Rasseau. The tract, containing 94,012 acres, went for £8882; as was said: "Not a bad price" for a trackless wilderness.

Beasley bought out his partners, but burdened the property with a mortgage which later threatened to be fatal to the settlement.

About the same time, the closing year of the eighteenth century, when American independence was well established, several new Mennonite colonies were founded, and the settlement on the Grand River began in good earnest. There had been two groups of Loyalists in the States and among the Pennsylvania Dutch—the active ones who had taken up arms, and had to precipitate their egress unless they testified their allegiance to the Union, and the passive ones who had not engaged in fighting, only done some hauling for which they had been reasonably paid. They could take their time in the removal of their goods and chattels; and though close dealers and of not very gushing enthusiasm, it was loyalty that made them prefer the Canadian wilderness to tempting offers from the new government. Two men, Joseph Schörk and Samuel Betzner, from Franklin County, were the real pioneers, for they came into a country where

roving trappers and traders, the best known among them characterized by his nickname, "Old Dodge," had been the only Pale Faces known to the Indians. Schörk crossed the river and settled East, near the later township *Doon*; Betzner, West, near what is now called *Blair*.

All along the Niagara River, also in York County, along the York street north of Toronto, settlements had sprung up since 1795. But for the Waterloo or Wellington district these two men were the first home-makers.

It was not without effort that they had started on a march across country which was to end thirty miles beyond civilization, practically next to nowhere. But the unquenchable energy of that hard-headed, hard-handed race knew, where there was ground, it might be tilled; waste, it might be redeemed, where man had trodden once, he might walk again. Their stock in trade was moderate capital, business shrewdness, unflinching industry and strict honesty with whatsoever contracting party.

They changed their house in Pennsylvania for tracts of land and bought a yoke of oxen and a sled; thus in a truly patriarchal fashion they set out for the new home, the hardships of the journey being such that we can hardly realize that only a century lies between those times and our express flyers. The day marches could only be short, for the animals had to rest, sometimes more than one night, and all the distance to Buffalo had first to be covered. Not a single Pale Face was at that time to be found in Buffalo; Hamilton's site was a bottomless mire, and to pass it so called "Corduoy Bridges"—logs forming a kind of pavement or bridge, being joined flute-like—had to be built to get the teams over.

In Dundas, then a lonely outpost in the midst of the marshes there was a small mill and store. Dundas is now a flourishing township, first station west of Hamilton on the line to Port Huron; maybe that "little mill and store" was its first nucleus.

Nevertheless, the next year, 1800, new settlers arrived: Betzner senior,—it is not clear whether he was the father or elder

brother of Samuel Betzner—and a certain Reichert, also the Sigerich family from Lancaster County, Pa. They must have been quite wealthy, for their convoy consisted of no less than one cart with six horses, twelve oxen, twelve sheep, two saddle horses. They had to undergo great hardships of all kinds; man and beast seemed to succumb to the fatigue. At last they reached their journey's end after five weeks of traveling. The same year, 1800, saw seven families from Montgomery County make for Waterloo. They crossed the Niagara at the "Flats." One of the newcomers, Clemens, drove the first horse team through Beverley Swamp. Now this swamp had to be passed every time the settlers wanted their grain ground or to get any provisions. Little York being the county town, they had to hie them thither for the use of the post office, for any legal transaction, to learn of any publication that might interest them. This latter fact, namely the inability of getting prompt cognizance of their legal affairs, proved nearly fatal to the young colony. The Government, according to its well-wont policy, offered these loyalists no assistance.

In 1800 a little school was founded by a man named Rittenhouse; at the same time a miller named Miller, who had shown sympathies for the American struggle for independence, and had in consequence lost the thousand acres of ground he had owned, founded a little gristmill and store in Galt, which must have been a real inroad of civilization, for we have to remember where the settlers had not clearings, there was trackless desolation richly populated with bears and wolves.

No doubt, the sturdy pioneers would have kept on improving, clearing, sowing and reaping, if a blow had not suddenly threatened them which would fain wrest from them their hard-earned homes. It came from a side where no one expected it; probably only the fewest knew about it; the old forgotten mortgage of £2000, with which Richard Beasley had encumbered the land. Beasley had been plying a busy trade with his "lots," when a "gentleman," name unknown, whom Samuel Betzner

met on his way to Toronto, told him about the affair. In course of time, though postal connection was slow, such news reached the home country; would-be-immigrants reconsidered matters, and Beasley had his land on his hands; it had only a potential value for the buyer and settler, for it was still completely unproductive. He now came forth with an offer to the settlers; they should form a joint stock company and buy sixty thousand acres from him. This would bring practically the whole of the county into their hands, incidentally lift the mortgage and free them from their joint liability. Probably the faith of the straightminded Mennonites in Richard Beasley was already shaken, yet they had to agree to his plan, having no other way out. In 1804 the pioneer settlers, Betzner and Shörk, retraced their way to Pennsylvania, to interest their friends and relatives in the plan, and raise the necessary money for the transaction.

The result was most discouraging. Both in Franklin County and in Cumberland the members of the communities seemed to have become reconciled to American citizenship. The proposal of emigration "into that far-off country," moreover to live again "under a crown," and brace again the hardships of first settlement, did not appear to any of them. They designated the Canadian settlement as a failure, and it might easily have become one—it was spurned by the government in the new, by the brethren in the old home.

Happily, the Great Central Power in Heaven held a different view from the one ruling in St. James, connected with Little York (now Toronto), by big and involved strands of red tape.

The two ambassadors, heavy-hearted and dejected, were on the point of returning. In fact, Shörk did so in despair; Betzner, however, went to Lancaster County. Here was the home of the brothers Eby. One of them, Bishop Benjamin Eby, is still to play an all-important part in the settlement of Waterloo County, but at present it is his elder brother Hannes to

whose zealous faith and Christian generosity, the primary condition of its existence is due. There was a meeting at his house when Betzner entered, and brought forth his last plea. At first the same sullen coldness as in Lancaster and Cumberland, Suddenly the Holy Ghost seemed to enter Hannes and in a long thundering speech he declared it their plain Christian duty not to leave their far-off brethren in distress.

The result of his fervent appeal was the speedy organization of the "German Company," a joint stock company, where no one person should hold more than one whole, nor less than one-eighth of a share. The amount of two hundred thousand dollars was handed over to Betzner and one Daniel Erb, all in silver, and transported by them "in ein leicht Pläsierwägeli" to their now finally secured homes. One may easily imagine the anxiety of the wanderers with their precious and tempting burden through all the pathless desolation of the home journey; Niagara had to be crossed in a scow 12 by 14 feet, Beverley Swamp on the usual Corduroy track. At last they brought their load of responsibility and good tidings to their homesteads, and the conclusion of the business could take place. We read:

"The tract of sixty thousand acres, more or less, conveyed on the 29th of June, 1805, by Richard Beasley, of Barton, and his wife, Henrietta, to Daniel and Jacob Erb, for \$1,000, surveyed into lots of 448 acres, and distributed by lot among the shareholders, so as to avoid jealousy, and to allow each settler to know beforehand where he was to locate."

A copy of this deed is still kept at the Registry Office of the Berlin Town Hall.

Eighteen hundred and six was an important year for the colonists. Jacob Schneider from Path Valley, Pa., in Franklin County, near Chambersburg, acquired land for a party of 418 persons. This large contingent parted from their old homestead for a thirty-two days' journey. Women and children in carts, men partly on horseback, to reconnoitre the lay of the land, partly goading the beasts of burden or driving the flocks.

In spite of a few small casualties general cheerfulness seems to have prevailed among this company that seemed like one of the tribes of the Old Testament. Their road led across the Alleghany Mountains, the Susquehanna, Tonawanda and Niagara Rivers. The latter was spanned by rough bridges. At that time Hamilton on this side of the Beverly Swamp had budded out with a few log cabins and a small inn; Dundas still had its mill and somewhat increased store.

When this large party scattered over their respective allotments, Benjamin Eby located on "Lot 2" of the "German Company's Tract." He gave out a job of two acres and had a house built. Then he went back to his former place in Lancaster County, only to return in June, 1807, with his bride, Marie Brubacher. The very fact that he did not build his own house with his own hands like his brethren, but gave the work out, so as to bring his young wife to a ready made home, showed a distinction between him and the others, even his own brothers, Yarrick and Samuel Eby, both sturdy farmers. The latter was generally known under the name of "Indian Sam." Benjamin as a child had shown himself thoughtful and delicate, so that it was an established fact among friends and neighbors—"Aus 'em Benny kommt kae Bauer, der muss Schulmeister werre!" This led to the lad having a somewhat better education than his companions and his ultimately embracing the ministry. He became Bishop of the Mennonites, and soon after his ordination in 1809, he offered a site for a church on his own land. Four years later a little log building, known as "Benjamin Eby's Versammlungs-haus" was ready for divine service: the first church in Waterloo County. In a house next to the church he kept a little German school, not quite the first, however, for "John Beatty, "an Irishman," had taught in a small house near "Indian Sam's" homestead at the "Two Bridges," being engaged by the three Ebys, Joseph Schneider and others.

There was a small but constant influx of settlers, all Germans, some skilled mechanics. A weaver named Bersicker had



his shop where the present post office stands. On the site of the present Bank of Commerce lived a turner, Christian Christner, "der machte Spindeln für Spinnräder, Spulen und desgleichen." Further down, where now the principal thoroughfare runs, there lived a fanning millwright, also a wainwright, with a little drinking place attached to his shop, which shows the beginning of some traffic.

Peaceful occupation, right in the beginning of the settlement, received a rough shock by the outbreak of the war between England and the United States in 1812. The Mennonites obtained respect for their religious tenets, in so far that, although pressed into service, they were only used as teamsters to the English army. They even received indemnification after the war.

It is quite evident that Benjamin Eby's house, church and school formed the nucleus of a hamlet or village which was steadily growing, though it only went under the name of the "Sand Hills," or "Eby's Place."

Eighteen hundred and fifteen, a new party arrived from Berks County. They had a rough greeting next year; 1816 was the terrible "Cold Summer." In June, July and August everything was frozen stiff as in December, there were no crops, and only wise distribution of grain and provender could avoid actual famine for man and beast.

Wolves, bears and foxes, starving in the frozen swamps, were driven close to human habitations, and maybe the fur trade helped a little against the general need, for wild beasts, whose skins are among the most highly prized, were seen and killed in unusual numbers.

The Indians, with whom good relations were always maintained, were glad to avail themselves of the help of the "Pale Faces" against the inclemencies of the weather. We are told that kitchens were left open at night, and some rough messes placed on the hub of the hearth for the shivering tribesmen who, with their Squaws and Papposes, crept into the warm ashes, and

touched never a thing but what was meant for them, even showed their gratitude in many little ways. It is also said that Jakob Hailer, a wheelwright, who immigrated, not from Pennsylvania, but from Baden, Germany, in 1833, allowed the Indians the use of his workshop between Christmas and New Year every year, and that they conscientiously replaced every tool they had used and took nothing away. This man's daughter, Mrs. Breithaupt, is the oldest living inhabitant born of native German immigrants, a great number of whom mingled with the Pennsylvanians.

Forest fires were another of the terrors; yet they seemed always to have been controlled. In those bad years wheat prices went up to 90c., even to \$1.05 per bushel; later the general market price was 50 to 60c. Land went according to location from \$2.50 to \$4 per acre.

May 24, 1824, John Hoffman arrived with his brother Jakob, both from Pennsylvania. They were mere boys, and with one John Bowers they learned the trade of cabinetmakers, starting, after they had finished their apprenticeship, a little factory on a sandy track by the corner of a marsh, on a plot given to them by Bishop Eby; next to them David Miller opened a little store. This was in so far an important event as it was the birth of the chief industry of the town. Miller's store was near the seat of the present townhall, at that time a large sandhill, the same that gave the village its unpromising name. Soon after it was cut down by some citizens who wished the ground for building purposes. The timber was still easily obtainable, for the primæval forest was not yet far away, and one Schantz, who seems to have been a particularly clearheaded and upright dealer, had organized the lumber trade, as he owned several heavily wooded lots, cutting down just as much as was required, and giving his customers well-seasoned lumber at reasonable prices.

One rainy afternoon, we are told by Ezra Eby (a Schoolmaster, Bishop Benjamin's grandson), in his introduction to the record of settlers which he compiled, several workmen and Burghers had gathered in Hoffmann's workshop, discussing the

growth of their town. Bishop Eby joined them, and to his inquiry what they were talking about, one called out: "Ja, wie soll denn unser neie Stadt heisse?" The Bishop looked around, and finding that many of those present came from Berlin\* he said: "Ei so heisst's doch Berlin!" The same evening the men went home rejoicing: "unser Städtche hat nu e Name! Mer heissen's Berlin!" And Berlin, Ontario, it was from this moment.

Henceforth there is to be noticed the steady growth of a sound organization in the little Canadian town. In spite of a stray bear now and then, or the visit of friendly Indians, Berlin lost its primæval character. A Post Office was opened as late as 1841, and then at Waterloo, not Berlin. It really looked as if the Government had slighted intentionally this decidedly German town. But in 1851, in the fight for the position as county town Berlin carried the victory over the neighborhood Galt.

The first newspaper was the *Museum*, succeeded in 1841 by *Der Deutsche Canadier*, published by Henry Eby, the Bishop's son, and Christian Enslin, also bookbinder and bookseller by trade. It was for quite a time the only link with the events of the world, except, of course, private correspondence. The *Canadier* for its part was destined to pass away in time. In its place are now the *Deutsche Zeitung* and the *Journal*, weekly papers with a circulation of 1500 and 1759 copies respectively; also one or two English dailies. In the German tongue appears a little mission sheet: *Der Evageliumsbote*, monthly.

Church life is very active; the old "Versammlungshaus" has given way to stately edifices; there are German Lutherans, Baptists and Methodist Churches, besides those for the English population.

The present fine schools are the keystone of the arch which we see rising from such humble foundations as that of of the Irishman, John Beatty's, and Bishop Eby's little German School. About 1828, a Miss Clemens kept a summer school, a Mr. DeKay, a

---

\*Evident by Berlin, Lancaster<sup>2</sup>Cy., Pa.

winter school. Another one, also English, was kept in the Union Church by one Winger, pumpmaker by trade, where the poor scholars sat shivering round the stove. "But", we read, "the teacher was a kind and good one for the time."

In advertisements of *Der Deutsche Canadier* several times "ein Lehrer" is asked to apply, yet the emoluments do not seem to have been very tempting. A Sunday School was founded about 1841 "im klein Schulhaus beim Versammlungshaus"; also a branch of the Bible Society.

Growth of industry, the leveling influence from the outside world while raising the prosperous township—which now claims to have enough inhabitants to be able to apply for a City charter—to the rank of a thriving business centre, have naturally worn off the quaint old world characteristics of pioneer times, of the first homemakers in the wilderness. The primæval forests have given their best to make and to enrich the seat of their usurpers; they are still feeding the sources of wealth of their former sites, they still supply superior timber for housebuilding and furnishing. Names of old Mennonite householders and craftsmen such, as Eby, Schantz, Hofmann, Enslin, Miller, reappear as heads of large factories, where hosts of industrious, home owning, skilled laborers make a living of moderate plenty, yet the departure of the olden times and with it the old people was evidently felt by those who had known them, for we find the following quaint verses attached to Ezra Eby's otherwise dry catalogue:

"Wo sin jetzt die alte Doddys

"Von die gute alte Zeit?

"Wo sin die gute alte Mommies.

Die scheene gute alte Leit?

"Ma sehn sie nimme bei uns do,

"Die scheene gute alte Leit.

"Im Himmel sind sie jetzt so froh.

"Und frehen sich in Ewigkeit.—

C. L. NICOLAY,

Philadelphia.

## REVIEWS.

*Persönliche Eindrücke von amerikanischen Universitäten.* Alois Brandl. *Deutsche Rundschau.* April, 1907.

The Franklin Bi-Centennial Celebration occasioned the gathering, at Philadelphia, of many of the world's noted scientists and scholars. Among these dignitaries was Doctor Alois Brandl, Professor of English Literature at the University of Berlin. During his stay here he visited four great American universities, viz.: Pennsylvania, Columbia, Harvard and Yale. Upon the impressions gained at these institutions, the article in question was written. The author is fully aware that the observations made do not obtain in all American universities, especially those of the West. The article is written with perfect fairness and due appreciation of local conditions.

In the college, the foundation of our universities, the writer recognizes an outgrowth of the English educational system, while in our graduate schools he rejoices to find an offspring of the advanced methods of the German institutions. Being a ceaseless investigator himself, he does not fail to note that the Americans are eager in the discovery of new truth. While England seems to be content to teach accepted truths, America, like Germany, is ever striving for new discoveries.

Our ample provision for physical education, of course, impresses every foreigner, and Dr. Brandl agrees with most Germans that we slightly overdo it. He fully values the good that springs from it and expresses the hope that "Studentenkolonien" may be established in German cities. He says: "Gratitude and blessing will come to the rector who succeeds in bringing about this undeniable necessity."

German universities obtain their financial appropriations from the government. The difficulty which our schools, other than state institutions, experience in obtaining the necessary means, largely

from private benefactors, is quite apparent. Though our wealthy citizens are very liberal, their donations are of necessity localized and often misapplied by the donor himself. Our faculties are underpaid and no provision is made for the support of aged educators.

Among university men Dr. Brandl found a due appreciation of German life and institutions. The anti-German feeling among the masses, he believes, is caused by our press copying prejudiced articles from the British periodicals, and one of the greatest strongholds of friendly feeling for Germany is to be found among the Americans who have studied at German universities.

Professor Brandl has examined our institutions with an impartial mind and has observed with great accuracy and deep insight.

*Wm. G. Bek.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMAN AMERICANA FOR THE  
YEAR 1906.

WILLIAM GODFREY BEK.

To the worker in the vast field of German American relations, an easy survey of the activity in this domain should be welcome. Of the many possible phases of this work, the literary, historical and cultural are particularly emphasized. The impossibility of rendering such a compilation absolutely complete at this time, must be manifest. It is believed, however, that the more important contributions to this study are here noted. The compiler will be most grateful to any of the readers of the *Annals*, who may inform him of any publications on subjects germane to this bibliography which are not here included.

The compiler takes great pleasure in acknowledging the assistance of Mr. Amandus Johnson in securing that part of the bibliography which pertains to the Scandinavians in America.

MONOGRAPHS.

- Bahr, Max.* Reisebericht über Amerika. Pub. Fr. Schaeffer & Co., Landsberg a. W.
- Bek, Wm. G.* The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and Its Colony Hermann, Mo. Americana Germanica Press, Philadelphia, 1907.
- Böttger, W.* Amerikanisches Hochschulwesen. Leipzig. W. Engelmann.
- Burgess, John W.* Germany, Great Britain and the United States. Ginn & Co., Boston.
- Deutsches Export-Handbuch für Brasilien.* 1906. Pub. Herm. Paetel, Berlin.
- Fulda, Ludwig.* Amerikanische Eindrücke. J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, Stuttgart und Berlin.

- Germanistische Gesellschaft der Staats-Universität von Wisconsin.*  
Deutsches Liederbuch für amerikanische Studenten. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.
- Gordon, Armistead Churchhill.* The Gift of the Morning Star—  
A Story of Sherando.
- Handbuch des Deutschtums im Auslande.* Herausgegeben vom  
Allgemeinen Deutschen Schulverein zur Erhaltung des Deutschtums  
im Auslande. II. Edition. Dietrich Reimer. Berlin, 1906.
- Höfer, A.* Eine Studienreise nach den Vereinigten Staaten. Pro-  
gramm. Frankfurt a. M.
- Knortz, Karl.* Deutsch in Amerika. C. L. Hirschfeld, Leipzig.
- Korsbaneret.* Kristlig Kalender för 1906. Augustana Book Con-  
cern, Rock Island, Ill. — Iowa konferensens barnhem. — Jul-  
ottor i nordvästra Minnesota för trettio år sedan. — Minnen  
från början af vår kyrkliga verksamhet i Red River-dalen och  
N. Dakota.
- Lamprecht, Karl.* Americana. Hermann Heyfelder, Freiburg im  
Breisgau.
- Lochemes, M. J.* Gedichte eines Deutschamerikaners. M. H.  
Wiltzins & Co., Milwaukee.
- Meyer, A. B.* Amerikanische Bibliotheken und ihre Bestrebungen.  
Friedländer, Berlin.
- Pallet, Ludwig.* Schule und Kunst in Amerika. Teubner, Leipzig.
- Philipp, Eduard.* Die deutsche Auslandsschule und ihre Lehrer.  
Pierson, Dresden.
- Pfister, Albert.* Nach Amerika im Dienste Friedrich Schillers.  
1906. Stuttgart. J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger.
- Prärieblomman.* Kalender för 1907. Augustana Book Concern,  
Rock Island, Ill. 1906. — Prärielif. Svensk-amerikansk lifsbild.  
C. W. Andeer. — Om Esaias Tegnér's erotiska passion. E. A.  
Zetterstrand. — Svensk-Amerikas dag i Norrköping. Joh. A.  
Enander. — Skräckdagarna i San Francisco. Ernst Skarstedt.  
— Om svensk rättstavning. Jules Mauritzson. — Nebraska-  
svenskarnas bildnings-sträfvanden. Ett litet stycke svensk-  
ameriansk kulturhistoria. S. M. Hill. — Tvenne veteraner.  
— Victor Witting. — Axel Silfversparre. — Biografiska teck-  
ningar. A. Schön.



- Rattermann, H. A.* Gesammelte Werke. Vol. I und II. Pub. by himself at Cincinnati, O.
- Röder, A.* Reisebilder aus Amerika. Puttkammer & Mühlbrecht, Berlin.
- Sandzén, Birger.* Med Pensel och Penna. Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill.
- Schurz, Karl.* — Lebenserinnerungen. Geo. Reimer. Berlin.
- Shadwell, Arthur.* Industrial Efficiency. A Comparative Study of Industrial Life in England, Germany and America. 2 volumes. Longmans. London.
- Symra.* En aarvog for norske paa begge sider af havet. 1906. Decorah, Iowa.) — Hjalmer Hjorth Boyesen. M. A. Mikkelsen. — Nybyggerskisser. H. R. Holand. — Nordiske studier ved amerikanske universiteter. Geo. T. Flom. — Om den norsk-lutherske høiskole i America. D. G. Ristad.
- Thilly and Ellwang's* authorized translation of Friedrich Paulsen's *The German Universities and University Study.* Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York.
- Wolf, Julius.* Der deutsch-amerikanische Handelsvertrag, etc. Gustav Fischer, Jena.

#### ARTICLES FOUND IN PERIODICALS.

- Annals of Iowa.* January, 1906. The Dunkers in Iowa. John E. Mohler.
- Arena.* October, 1906. The University of Berlin and the Proposed Change in National Education. M. Butler.
- Beilage der Allgemeinen Zeitung* (München). January 27, 1906. Professor Peabody über die amerikanischen Universitäten.  
 January 31, 1906. Stiftungen des Amerikaners Yerkes zu wissenschaftlichen Zwecken.  
 February 11, 1906. Professor Peabody's Abschied von Berlin.  
 February 24, 1906. Jugendfürsorge in Amerika. Berthold Beck.  
 March 7, 1906. Zum Professorenaustausch.  
 March 16, 1906. Die bisherigen Resultate des Frauenstimmrechts in Colorado. Ernst Schultze.

- March 20, 1906. Eine Fakultät der schönen Künste an der Columbia Universität in New York.
- March 28, 1906. Amerikanische Museumspolitik.
- April 7, 1906. Ein deutsches Liederbuch für amerikanische Studenten.
- April 24 and 25, 1906. Shakespeare in Amerika. George B. Churchill.
- April 27, 1906. Das Kunstschutzgesetz und die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.
- May 8, 1906. Ein kanadisches Kulturbild.
- May 30, 1906. Zum deutsch-amerikanischen Professorenaustausch.
- May 31, 1906. Die kalifornischen Universitäten.
- June 30, 1906. Studentenzahl an den amerikanischen Universitäten.
- July 8, 1906. Karl Schurz als Autobiograph.
- July 23, 1906. Die Einwanderung in die Ver. Staaten.
- August 23, 1906. Die Ausstellung der Geschenke Kaiser Wilhelm's in dem Germanischen Museum der Harvard Universität.
- September 12, 1906. Die Beiträge der Kongresse von St. Louis. H. Oldenberg.
- September 15, 1906. Eine akademische Feier in Amerika. G. E. Karsten.
- September 28, 1906. Kuba und die Kubaner.
- October 16, 1906. Amerikanische Hochschulen. W. Böttger.
- October 22 and November 16, 1906. Eine Fahrt zum Geologenkongress in Mexico. A. Rothpletz.
- Bucknell Mirror*. Vol. xxv, No. 3. Education at German Universities. G. C. L. Riemer.
- Columbia University Quarterly*. September, 1906. Karl Schurz. Nicholas Murray Butler.
- December, 1906. Inaugural Address of the Kaiser Wilhelm Professor. Hermann Schumacher.
- Contemporary Review*. November, 1906. Education and Mis-education in Germany. J. E. Barker.
- Cosmopolitan*. January, 1906. Germanizing the World. C. E. Russel.

*Current Literature.* July, 1906. Carl Schurz—Germany's Best Gift to America.

*Det Norske Selskabs Aarbog.* January, 1906. Koshkonong. Hy Holland.

*Deutsche Erde.* No. 2. 1906. Das Deutschtum in Kanada. Alwin Oppel.

Nos. 3 and 4. 1906. Die Ermittlung des Volkstums der Einwanderer in die Vereinigten Staaten. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des Anteils der Deutschen. Richard Böckh.

*Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter.* Herausgegeben von der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. January, 1906. Auf den Pfaden deutsch-amerikanischer Geschichtsforscher. Wilhelm Müller. — Deutsch-Amerikanische Jubiläen. — Rösler von Oels. G. A. Fritsch. — Offener Brief an den Senator Thompson von Kentucky. Gustav Adolph Rösler.

January and April, 1906. Spitznamen in Amerika. A. R.

January, April, July, October, 1906. Geschichte der Deutschen Quincy's. Heinrich Bornmann.

April, 1906. Die Mission der Deutschen als Wandervolk in der Weltgeschichte. Hermann Oucken. — Die Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois. — Geschichte des Townships Saline.

July, 1906. Carl Schurz. H. H. Fick. — Carl Schurz. Sein Leben und Wirken. Wilhelm Vocke. — Erste deutsche Ansiedler von Carroll County, Ill. — Deutsches Zeitungswesen in Quincy. Heinrich Bornmann. — Siebzigjähriges Jubiläum des Cincinnati Volksblatt. — Todtenschau. Heinrich Bornmann. — Carl Schurz Memorial Services. — Carl Schurz, Cosmopolitan and Patriot. Benjamin Terry. — Carl Schurz, The German-American. Harry Rubens. — The Men of 1848 and the Effect of Their Immigration. Edmund J. James. — Carl Schurz, the American Statesman. F. C. Winkler. — Carl Schurz as a Moral Force. Charles J. Little.

October, 1906. Geschichtliches aus Clinton County, Illinois. Heinrich Gramann. — Die Deutschen in Wisconsin. — Das deutsche Element in Kane County (Ill.). — Elginer Skizzen. F. C. Kothe. — Etwas vom Deutschtum im Staate Michigan.

## FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS.

PROF. DR. OTTO BINDEWALD, University of Giessen.  
PROF. DR. KARL BORINSKI, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ALOYS BRANDL, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. OTTO BREMER, University of Halle.  
PROF. DR. KARL BREUL, King's College, Cambridge, England.  
PROF. DR. KONRAD BURDACH, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. CREIZENACH, University of Krakau.  
PROF. DR. ERNST ELSTER, University of Marburg.  
DR. K. ENDEMANN, Weilberg a. L.  
PROF. DR. LUDWIG GEIGER, University of Berlin.  
DR. GRAEVELL, Brussels.  
PROF. DR. F. HOLTHAUSEN, University of Kiel.  
PROF. DR. M. H. JELLINEK, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. O. JIRICZEK, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. MAX KOCH, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. K. LANDMANN, Darmstadt.  
PROF. DR. PAUL LANGHANS, Gotha.  
PROF. DR. H. LAMBEL, University of Prague.  
PROF. DR. JOHN MEIER, University of Basel.  
PROF. DR. RUDOLPH MEISSNER, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. RICHARD M. MEYER, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. J. MINOR, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. E. MOGK, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. LORENZ MORSBACH, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. F. MUNCKER, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ANTON SCHOENBACH, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. BERNHARD SEUFFERT, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. ALEXANDER TILLE, University of Glasgow.  
PROF. DR. H. VARNHAGEN, University of Erlangen.  
PROF. DR. OSKAR WALZEL, University of Bern.  
PROF. DR. G. WITKOWSKI, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. WYCHGRAM, University of Leipzig.

(List may be extended.)

---

---

### Form von Vermächtnissen.

I give and bequeath to the "*German American Historical Society*", Central Office located at Philadelphia Pa.,

---

---

(here describe the amount, if money or premises, if real estate)

to aid in carrying out the designs of the Society.

## THE NATIONAL GERMAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

*President*, DR. C. J. HEXAMER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*1st Vice-Pres.*, JOSEPH KELLER, Indianapolis, Ind.  
*2d Vice-Pres.*, NOAH GUTER, Newark, N. J.  
*Treas.*, H. WENIGER, Phila, Pa. *Fin. Sec.*, JOHN YENNY, East Pittsburg, Pa.  
*Sec.*, ADOLPH TIMM, 522 W. Lehigh Ave., Phila., Pa.

### *National Executive Committee:*

JOHN TJARKS, Balto., Md.; C. W. BENTE, Wheeling, W. Va.,  
KURT VOELCKNER, Washington, D. C.; F. OSKAR MARTIN, Idaho;  
H. I. NIENSTEDT, St. Paul, Minn.; GUSTAV C. MARTENS, Cleveland, O.;  
C. C. LIENAU, Newark, N. J.; DR. CARL BARCK, St. Louis, Mo.,  
DR. H. A. C. ANDERSON, N. Y. City; ALBERT CURRLIN, Oakland, Cal.;  
H. C. BLOEDEL, Allegheny, Pa.; CARL EBERHARD, Boston, Mass.

## THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(INCORPORATED 1901)

*Honorary President*, J. G. ROSENGARTEN, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*President*, DR. ALBERT BERNHEIM, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Vice-Presidents*: L. P. HENNIGHAUSEN, Baltimore, Md. H. M. VON STARK-  
LOFF, St. Louis, Mo. C. F. HUCH, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Editor*: MARION D. LEARNED, BOX 10, College Hall, University of Pennsyl-  
vania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Secretary*: ADOLPH TIMM, 522 W. Lehigh Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Treasurer*: HANS WENIGER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Business Manager*: CHARLES H. BREITBARTH, 809 Spring Garden Street,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Annual Dues, \$5.00.

## THE UNION OF OLD GERMAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

Headquarters, ARION HALLE, 59th St. and Park Ave., NEW YORK.

*President*, DR. CARL BECK, 37 E. 31st St., New York.

### *Vice-Presidents:*

DR. M. D. LEARNED, DR. CARL BARCK,  
HON. CHAS. F. MCLEAN, DR. HENRY G. KRAUSE,  
DR. W. FREUDENTHAL.  
*Rec. Secretary*, DR. J. HECKMANN. *Cov. Secretary*, DR. CARL PFISTER.  
*Treasurer*, DR. ALBERT J. W. KERN, Jamaica, N. Y.

### *Directors:*

DR. C. W. ALPERUS, H. SCHUETER,  
DR. EM. BARUCH, DR. R. JOHNSTONE MOONEY,  
DR. WILLIAM H. CARMALT, DR. H. MUENSTERBERG,  
DR. WM. H. CARPENTER, DR. H. SCHOENFELD,  
DR. CHAS. F. CHANDLER, DR. J. G. SCHURMAN,  
DR. C. W. ELIOT, DR. L. L. SEAMAN,  
DR. H. ENDEMANN, H. A. WEBER.

Annual Dues, \$3.00.

Philal 514.2

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations  
OF  
Germany and America

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*  
*The National German American Alliance*  
*The Union of Old German Students in America*

### CONTENTS:

<b>The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown</b>	-	131
<b>Some Unpublished Longfellow Letters</b>	- - - - -	172

**NEW SERIES, Vol. 5, No. 3.**                      **OLD SERIES, Vol. 9, No. 3.**  
MAY AND JUNE, 1907.

**Subscription Price, \$3.00.**                      **Single Copies, 50 cents.**

COPYRIGHT, 1907.  
(Entered March 2, 1903, at Philadelphia, Pa., as Second Class matter, under Act of Congress, of March 3, 1879)

PUBLISHED BY  
**THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,  
809 SPRING GARDEN STREET,  
Philadelphia.

**Berlin:**  
MAYER & MÜLLER

**New York:**  
CARL A. STERN

**Leipzig:**  
F. A. BROCKHAUS

**London:**  
KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

**Paris:**  
H. LESOUDIER

## ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Bi-Monthly, GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, is a continuation of the Quarterly, AMERICANA GERMANICA, and will make accessible to a wider public current matter bearing upon the Relations of Germany and America. Each number will contain a series of original contributions, reviews, book notices and lists of new publications, relating to the history of the Germans in America and also to American studies in the general field of Germanics.

The original title AMERICANA GERMANICA will be retained for the series of larger monographs which do not fall within the limits of a periodical, and for reprints. These monographs will be published at such times as they are presented, and will be sold separately, the price varying according to the character of the monograph.

In the Monthly regular attention will be given to reviews and book notices. New publications will be promptly listed and so far as possible reviewed. Contributions, books for review and exchanges are solicited, especially such as come within the scope of the Monthly, and should be sent to the editor, *M. D. Learned, Box 10, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.*

Subscriptions and other business communications should be directed to the business manager, *Charles H. Breitbarth, 809 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, Pa.*

The annual subscription price is three dollars (\$3.00) in advance. Members of the German American Historical Society are entitled to the periodical publications issued by the Society. To members of other affiliated societies the Monthly will be sent for two dollars (\$2.00), provided not less than a hundred members of such a society subscribe for the journal.

### SPECIAL TO LIBRARIES.

#### GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS.

As full sets are nearly exhausted, Vol. I-IV will not be sold separately. Back sets can be had as follows :

Volume I,	}	complete . . . . .	\$10.00
Volume II,			
Volume III,			
Volume IV,			
Volume V, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VI, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VII, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VIII, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00

#### AMERICANA GERMANICA (Monographs Bound in Cloth).

1. *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines.* By E. Z. Davis, Ph. D. . . . . \$1.50
2. *The Harmony Society.* By J. A. Bole, Ph. D. . . . . 1.50
3. *Friedrich Schiller in America.* By E. C. Parry, Ph. D. . . . . 1.25
4. *The Influence of Salomon Gessner Upon English Literature.*  
By Bertha Reed . . . . . 1.25
5. *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri.* By Wm. G. Bek . . . . . 1.50

PRINTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL PRINTING CO.,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
**Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations**  
OF  
**Germany and America**

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*

*The National German American Alliance*

*The Union of Old German Students in America*

EDITOR,

**MARION DEXTER LEARNED,**  
University of Pennsylvania.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS :

**H. C. G. BRANDT,**  
Hamilton College.

**W. H. CARPENTER,**  
Columbia University.

**W. H. CARRUTH,**  
University of Kansas.

**HERMANN COLLITZ,**  
Bryn Mawr College.

**STARR W. CUTTING,**  
University of Chicago.

**DANIEL K. DODGE,**  
University of Illinois.

**A. B. FAUST,**  
Cornell University.

**KUNO FRANCKE,**  
Harvard University.

**ADOLPH GERBER,**  
Late of Earlham College.

**JULIUS GOEBEL,**  
Harvard University.

**J. T. HATFIELD,**  
Northwestern University.

**W. T. HEWETT,**  
Cornell University.

**A. R. HOHLFELD,**  
University of Wisconsin.

**HUGO K. SCHILLING,**  
University of California.

**H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,**  
University of Chicago.

**HERMANN SCHORNFELD,**  
Columbia University.

**CALVIN THOMAS,**  
Columbia University.

**H. S. WHITE,**  
Harvard University.

**HENRY WOOD,** Johns Hopkins University.

New Series, Vol. 5.

Old Series, Vol. 9.

1907.

PUBLISHED BY

**THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,

**Philadelphia.**

**Berlin :**

**MAYER & MÜLLER**

**New York :**

**CARL A. STERN**

**Leipzig :**

**F. A. BROCKHAUS**

**London :**

**KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.**

**Paris :**

**H. LESOUDIER**





# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

New Series,  
Vol. V. No. 3.

May and June  
1907.

Old Series,  
Vol. IX. No. 3.

FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS.

The Founder of Germantown.

By MARION DEXTER LEARNED.

(Copyrighted. All rights reserved.)

### CHAPTER I.

Francis Daniel Pastorius, the founder of Germantown, the first permanent German colony in North America, was born in Sommerhausen, Franconia, September 20, 1651, three years after the close of the Thirty Years' War. He was the scion of a distinguished German family, whose history reflects the vicissitudes of the fierce religious strife of the times of Gustavus Adolphus, Tilly and Wallenstein. The wounds of the war were still unhealed and the bitterness of the strife still lingered in the adherents of the Catholic and Protestant cause, severing in the same family the strongest ties of kinship and blood.

The family of Pastorius seems to have been one of the many whose names were Latinized under the influence of humanism. The Latin form *Pastorius* would point to an original German *Schäfer* or *Hirt* or some combination of one of these names. It seems not unlikely that the German name had a longer form. A persistent tradition in Franconia connects the family of *Hügelschäffer* with that of Pastorius, deriving the former from the latter. It seems far more likely, however, that *Pastorius* is a Latinized form of an original *Hügelschäffer*. This would harmonize with the fact that the name *Hügelschäffer* appears in the records of an early period in other places and this family has

(131)

the same coat-of-arms as Pastorius. But this subject belongs to the genealogist rather than the historian or biographer.<sup>1</sup>

Two branches of the Pastorius family were prominent in Germany in the seventeenth century, one in Silesia and the other in Westphalia, Thuringia and Franconia. It is with the latter branch that this work has chiefly to deal.

The Silesian branch of the family is represented in the seventeenth century by Joachim Pastorius, who was born at Glogau in Silesia Sept. 20, 1611,<sup>2</sup> and died at Frauenberg in Prussia Dec. 26, 1681. He was the son of a parson and was reared in the doctrines of Socinus. He was a "Doctor medicinae" and distinguished for his writings on Polish history.

Joachim Pastorius was made "Stadtphysicus" of Elbing and in 1651 Professor of History at the Gymnasium in that place. In 1652 he became Rector of the Gymnasium. Having gone over to the Lutheran Church, he took up his duties as Professor of History in Dantzig, January 28, 1655. He was made *Historicus Regius* in 1656, and was named "Indigenat" by the Polish Diet in 1662 and took the title "ab Hirtenberg." In 1665 he was made "Secretarius Regius," but resigned his post and went over to the Roman Catholic Church. Although married he received high offices in the Catholic Church, having

---

<sup>1</sup> It is fitting to quote in this connection a letter of the Rev. S. Hanssleiter to C. Sharpless Pastorius in Florence, dated Sommerhausen, February 2, 1888: "Die hier (wahrscheinlich durch Vermuthung des HE Pf. Hofmann) verbreitete Ansicht, dass die hier ansässige, geachtete Familie Hügelschäffer — welche früher im Besitze des oben erwähnten Hauses [welches von M. A. Pastorius im Jahre 1655 erbaut wurde] gewesen ist, und wohl seitdem ein ähnliches Familienzeichen führt—directe Nachkommen von Pastorius seien, die mit Verdeutschung des Namens hier geblieben seien, entbehrt der urkundlichen Begründung und jeder Wahrscheinlichkeit, da erwiesenermassen der Name Hügelschäffer in früher Zeit schon in anderen Dörfern vorkommt, von welchen vielmehr die hiesige Familie dieses Namens ausgegangen ist."

<sup>2</sup> Or in 1610, according to other authorities (cf. Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*).



HOUSE OF MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS.  
SOMMERHAUSEN.



been Vicar General of Pomerellen and Canon of Frauenberg. His extensive History of Poland was finished and published by his son, Georg Adam Pastorius, after his death. The following works were published from his pen:

1. Joachimi Pastorii Florus Polonicus | seu | Polonicæ Historiæ Epitome Nova | Lvgd. Batavor. | Apud Franciscum Hegerum A<sup>o</sup> 1641.

The second addition appeared in 1642 with the following title:

2. Flori Polonici | seu | Polonicæ Historæ | Epitome Nova | Authore | Ioachimo Pastorio. | Editio secunda | à mendis repurgata. | Lvgd. Batavor. | Apud Franc. Hegerum, | Ann. MDCXLII. 12<sup>o</sup>.

The title-page of the second edition has a woodcut representing the pelican feeding her young (as old tradition falsely had it) from her own blood, an emblem which is found also on the tombstone of Melchior Adam Pastorius in the St. Johannes Kirchhof at Nürnberg.

Another enlarged edition appeared at Amsterdam, 1664, and even a copy of a fifth edition with a continuation was published ("Gedani et Francofurti") in 1679.

3. Joachimi Pastorii . . . Heroes Sacri, Musa Peregrinans Flos Poloniæ, et Epigrammata Varia. 12<sup>o</sup>. Daniel Vetter: Lesnæ Polon. [1644.]

Second, corrected and enlarged edition with the addition of his "Character Virtutum" Danzig, 1653, 12 mo.

4. Aulicus inculpatus. Ex Gallico auctoris anonymi [Eustache de Refuge] tractus à J. Pastorio. Apud L. Elzevirium: Amsterdami, 1644. 12<sup>o</sup>. [Another edition in 1649.]
5. Peplum Sarmaticum. Dantisci, 1645.
6. Aquilæ Sarmaticæ super Augustis Nuptiis Johanni Casimiri Applausus. 1649.

7. Bellum Scythico-Cosacicum seu de conjuratione Tartarum Cosacorum et Plebis Russicæ contra regnum Poloniæ ab invictissimo Poloniæ et Sueciæ Rege J. Casimiro profligata, narratio plenioris historiæ operi præmissa. Sumptibus G. Försteri: Dantisci. 1652-1659. 4º.
8. De juventutis institutionis ratione. Dantzig, 1653.
9. Palæstra Nobilium. 1654.
10. Vita J. Crellii a J[oachim]o P[astorio] M[edicinæ] D[octore] descripta. 1656 fol.
11. Stella Aurea, seu fax virtutis ex natura stellarum accensa. Dantisci. [1656.] 8º.
12. Sylvarum pars prima 1656, pars secunda 1657.
13. J. Pastorii Orationes duæ. Quarum prima . . . de præcipuis historiæ autoribus, altera de potissimis eiusdem argumentis agit. Gedani [1656]. 4º.
14. Panegyrica Gratulatio . . . Carolo II . . . Londini festivitate solennissima inaugurando scripta a J. Pastorio. Gedani, 1661. 4º.
15. Ministri status, seu considerationes super vita Nicolai Neovilli. Jena, 1644. [Translation of the *Remarques* of P. Matthieu.]
16. Historia Polonica ab obitu Uladislai IV, usque ad annum 1651. Dantisci, 1680-1685. [Vol. II published by his son, Georg Adam Pastorius, closing with a dissertation on "De Originibus Sarmaticis."]
17. Joachimi de Hirtenberg Pastorii Character Virtutum variis, aliorum etiam qua veterum, qua recentium auctorum, coloribus adumbratus [1st edition, Dantzig, 1650, and 4th edition, with the appendix: "Opusculum, Lucem Virtutem et natura stellarum explicans, &c." [Gratulatio paregorica . . . ad Regem Joannem Casimirum, etc., pp. 36-80. D. F. Rhetius, Dantisci [1680]. 8º.
18. J. ab Hirtenberg Pastorii Historiæ Polonæ pars prior, de Vladislai IV extremis, secutoque inde interregno, et Joannis Casimiri electione ac coronatione. Interserta Cosacorum et Tartaricæ simul gentis descriptio, etc. Typis T. Reinigeri: Gedani, 1680. 8º.

19. J. Pastorii ab Hirtenberg Historiæ Polonæ plenioris partes duæ: ejusdemque dissertatio philologica de originibus Sarmaticis. Sumpibus S. Beckensteinii: Dantisci, 1685. 8o.
20. Aurora pacis: Diarium pacificationis Olivensis, ex Bibliotheca Zalusciana nunc primum prolatum, Oliva pacis.
21. Acta pacis Olivensis inedita. Breslau, 1763 and 1766. [Published by J. Gottlob Boehm.]

Other minor works are mentioned in Chr. Sandius' *Bibliographia Anti-Trinitariorum*.

Although neither Melchior Adam Pastorius nor his son Francis Daniel seems to have been aware of any relationship between Joachim and themselves, there are striking coincidences in the history of the families which point to the kinship of the Silesian and Westphalian-Thuringian branches of the Pastorius family. The use of the pelican emblem has already been mentioned. The title "ab Hirtenberg" of Joachim Pastorius is closely allied to the baronial title "von Hirtenfels" which the German Emperor conferred upon Johann Augustin Pastorius, brother of Melchoir Adam Pastorius of the Thuringian line. Both titles indicate a compound form of the name in the original German. Now the coat-of-arms, as found on the datestone of Melchior Adam Pastorius' house in Sommerhausen and handed down in the Hügelschäffer family of the same place has a sheep pasturing on one of three hills, which would suggest the "berg" in "ab Hirtenberg" and the "fels" in "von Hirtenfels," and thus lend a new presumption in favor of the theory of the connection of "Pastorius" and "Hügelschäffer."

In his brief account of the family Francis Daniel Pastorius begins with his great grandfather Christian Pastorius, a citizen of Warburg in Westphalia. This baptismal name Christian, however, does not agree with the account of Melchior Adam Pastorius, who gives the name of his grandfather as Fridericus not Christianus. It is possible, but not very probable, that his name may have been Christianus Fridericus or Fridericus Chris-



tianus. Melchior Adam gives the following account of the origin of his family :

“Origo Familiæ Pastorianæ ex Ciuitate Warburgensi Westphaliæ prouenit, Vbi Fridericus Pastorius Ciuis et Senator erecto animo uixit, et filiu unicum Martinum progenuit, ac post se reliquit.”

Having thus traced the Westphalian origin of the family and added an anagram, he continues :

“Obijt Warburgi in Westphalia, ibidemquæ apud parentes et prædecessores sepultus Anno Christi. 1640. postquam filium Martinum Pastorium in Literis et liberalibus artibus bene educasset, et in Vniuersitate Moguntinensi in Iure Iustinianæo imbui fecisset.”

Martinus Pastorius, the son of Fridericus, was born in 1576, and, after finishing his education in liberal arts and the study of the Justinian Code at Mainz, he took up his residence in the city of Erfurt and was made Tribunal Assessor (or Assessor of the Electoral Council) in that city. He married as his first wife Eva Rödiger,<sup>3</sup> who bore him one son Caspar. His second wife, Brigatta Flinsberger (or Flinsberg), bore him six children—Margaretha, (Johann) Augustin, Heinrich, Rebecca, Melchior Adam, Balthasar.

When the Swedes, under Gustavus Adolphus, entered the

---

<sup>3</sup> There is a discrepancy between Melchior Adam's account and that of his son, Francis Daniel, at this point. Melchior Adam mentions only his own mother Martin's second wife, while Francis Daniel states clearly that Martin married Eva Rödiger, as his first wife :

“I shall only tell them [my children], that he [Martin] was twice married, that his first wife, Eve Rödigers, brought him a son called Caspar, who became a Popish priest and so a voluntary Eunuch, and of his second wife Bridget (Brigida), a daughter of Christian Flinsberger, inhabitant of the Imperial city of Mulhausen, in Thuringen, he had six children, viz., Augustin, Margaret, Henry, Rebecca, Melchior Adam and Balthasar”.

Melchior Adams' account in *Itinerarium* (p. 111), runs thus :

Martinus Pastorius Assessor Tribunalis siue Iudicij Archiepiscopalis Moguntinensis in Ciuitate Erffurtensi. Natus Anno 1576. Duxit uxorem Brigittam Flinsbergerin ex qua progenuit sequentes Liberos : Casparum, Margaretham, Angustinum, Henricu, Rebeckâ, Melchiorem Adamum, Et Balthasarum.”

MELCHIORIS ADAMI PASTORII  
ERFFVRTENSIS  
ITINERARIUM  
VITAE CURRICVLVS.

Das ist,  
Seine Völlige Reis-Beschreibung  
und ganzer Lebens Lauff.

sampt einigen  
Merckwürdigen Begebenheiten  
und anzeigungen derer iedes Ortes  
befindlichen Raritäten.

Synopsis. Actionum:

Multas Gentes visitaui,  
Plures Urbes perlustraui,  
Bonis me associaui,  
Immorigeros vitaui,  
Veritatem indagaui,  
Malos diuis execraui,  
Dum in Iure laboraui,  
Nullum studio grauaui,  
Aequum Iustum adamaui  
Bonum proximi spectaui  
Bonos mores proplantaui,  
Pietatem commendaui,



city of Erfurt in the time of the Thirty Years' War, Martinus Pastorius' "several houses therein with all his goods" were burned in one night and he set out from the city to seek protection of the Elector of Mainz. He sought shelter for the night "in a barn under some straw," in a village occupied by Swedish soldiers, but was betrayed by his own servant to the Swedes, who inflicted such severe wounds with their bare swords that he died a few days later, leaving his widow and her six children in dire destitution. Melchior Adam<sup>4</sup> and Francis Daniel<sup>5</sup> have both left us a graphic description of the event.

Thus in one brief night the family was bereft of hearth and home. Francis Daniel Pastorius speaks of his grandfather Martin as "a man of good estate," and Melchior Adam describes the home in Erfurt as "opulenta domus" in some verses in memory of his father:

"Diripet inde domum miles, spoliatque Penates  
Inque atrum Nati trudimur Exilium  
O si mansisses forsan superesses et ipse  
Et superesset adhuc nostra opulenta domus."<sup>6</sup>

Brigitta Pastorius was the daughter of Christian von Flinsberg, a member of the Council of the Imperial City of Mühlhausen in Saxony,<sup>7</sup> a man experienced in practical as well as military affairs, having taken part in a campaign against the Turks. Melchior Adam dedicated to him the following verses:

---

<sup>4</sup> In his *Itinerarium* (p. 111b): "Adventante Gustavo Adolpho Rege Suecie conabatur hic Martinus se fuga subducere Erfurto et Moguntiam ad Archiepiscopum conferre, ut hospitationem militum euaderet, sed in itinere in prato à militibus interceptus horrendum in modum verberatus, spoliatus et vestibus exutus nudus domum redijt, et vulneribus interijt."

<sup>5</sup> In the Genealogical Sketch (*Beehive*, p. 221ff).

<sup>6</sup> In his *Itinerarium*, p. 112a.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid*: "Diser Brigittæ Vatter war Christians uon Flinsberg des Raths in der Reichs Statt Mühlhausen in Sachsen."

“Nit Hochgelehrt in Künsten zwar  
 Ich Christian gestigen war,  
 Doch ziemlich in der Welt uersucht  
 In Fried und auch in Krieges Zucht.  
 Ein Türcken Zug ich stunde aus  
 Drauff ruhig lebt in meinem Haus  
 In Gottesforcht ohn Heüchel schein  
 Und thät auch guths dem nechsten mein.”

Brigitta's memory was fondly cherished by her son Melchior Adam as well as by her grandson Francis Daniel Pastorius. The former dedicated some German verses<sup>8</sup> to her and the latter this touching paragraph:

“His [Martinus'] poor Widow (my Grand-mother) lived several years after his Decease, however destitute of all outward means to do much for her Six Orphans: When my Father [Melchior Adam Pastorius] at his going to the University bade her Fare well, she could give him but one Ducat (or two pieces of Eight) besides her good Blessing, neither did he ever get more (no not a farthing) of all his patrimony, which made him the oft'ner remember the great Vertue or Efficacy of a Ducat given by a well wishing Mother.”<sup>9</sup>

The eldest son Casparus Pastorius entered the service of the Catholic Church and became curate of the town of Bingen on the Rhine, as we learn from Melchior Adam his brother, who wrote some distichs to him and left a brief notice of him in prose.”<sup>10</sup>

Joannes Augustinus Pastorius, the second son of Martinus, finished the course in philosophy at Mainz, presenting his theses in June, 1631, and then went to Rome, where he took the degree

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 112a.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. F. D. P.'s Genealogical Sketch (*Beehive*, p. 221 ff), and the *Beschreibung*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 112b: “Erat iste Casparus Sacerdos Curatus siue Parochus Oppidi Bingensis infra Moguntiam (: nit weith uon dem Maus Thurn:) dumque inibi contra petulantiam Veneficarum siue strigarum acrius concionaretur, Vna post peractum Sacramentum Biptismatis in Conuiuio ipsi haustum vini venenati porrexit, quo sumpto. illico male habere cepit, et domum rediens intra paucos dies expirauit. Et dixerat hacc Saga: ich habe dem Herrchen eins bracht, er wird nit uiel mehr predigen.”

Juris Utriusque Doctor, and was made "Protho Notarius Apostolicus."<sup>11</sup> He seems also to have been a "Licentiatus in Theologia."<sup>12</sup> July 7, 1647, Elector Philipp Christoph von Zöteren<sup>13</sup> gave him the "Præpositur" of Gmünden, and July 28, 1658, Elector Johann Georg II of Saxony made him Historiographer of the Royal Family and Keeper of the Royal Arms (Rex Armorum). In 1660 we find him called "Principis Holsatiæ Cancellarius Oblegatus."

In his capacity as Notarius at Rome in the service of the Elector of Mainz and other princes he acquired great wealth, having received from the Emperor the baronial title of Augustin von Hirtenfels and an estate in Hungary in recognition of his services. He was an influential and zealous Catholic and remained a celibate.<sup>14</sup> His jealous zeal for the faith of his family is attested by Francis Daniel Pastorius in the incident in which he relates that his uncle Johann Augustin came with a "couple of fiery Jesuits" to Sommerhausen to win back his brother Melchior Adam from the Evangelical faith to the Catholic Church.<sup>15</sup>

The following works were published under his name:

1. Der europaische neue teutsche Florus [published partly in Frankfurt a. M. and partly in Vienna]. 1659-1661.
2. Scharfsinniger Adler, mit der europaischen Flori historici Continuation. Von allen denckwürdigen Geschichten, &c. Pp. 465. Franckfurth, 1659.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Melchior Adam Pastorius devotes to him also some distichs and gives the following notice of him in the *Itinerarium*, p. 113b. "Ioannes Augustinus Martini Pastorig secundo genitus filius Moguntia Philosophiam absoluit iuxta Theses impressas mense Iunio Anno 1631. Inde Romam se contulit ubi peractis Studijs. Iuris Vtriusque Doctor promotus et Protho Notarius Apostolicus creatus est."

<sup>12</sup> Cf. F. D. P.'s *Genealogical Sketch*.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, sub nomine.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. F. D. P.'s *Beschreibung*.

<sup>16</sup> Titles from the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*.

3. J. Pastorii . . . . Gratulatio sub ipsum Academiae [at Kiel] natalem scripta. [See Torquatus A. Frangipani Auspice D. T. O. M. . . . Academiae, &c.] 1665. Folio.<sup>16</sup>

The other work *Römischer Adler*, which Schnorr von Carolsfeld erroneously attributed to (Johannes) Augustin Pastorius, is by Melchior Adam Pastorius, his brother, as will be seen later.

The eldest daughter of Martin Pastorius, Margaretha, kept house for her older brother Casparus until his death and then married a "chirurgus of Ellfeldt" near Bingen, but died at the birth of her first child, a daughter. Melchior Adam, her younger brother, has left us some very touching German verses in memory of her. The first four of these verses describe the perils of wedded life:

"Vermählet sein, ist so ein Sach  
Die nach sich zeücht uiel Weh und Ach  
Gebähren bringt der Schmertzten uiel,  
Ia, manchmal gar des Todes Ziel."<sup>17</sup>

The third son, Henricus Pastorius, served as a soldier under the Dukes of Lüneburg, but died at the early age of twenty-five years. The only information we have found concerning him is that given by Melchior Adam,<sup>18</sup> his brother.

The modest Rebecca, who entered the cloister at Erfurt and became a "harmless nun," is mentioned by her only brother Melchior Adam, who dedicated an anagram to her, together with a few lines of Latin. The anagram runs:

"EN CRVCIS ISTA PROBA.  
EIA ROVR IN PECCATIS."

<sup>16</sup> Titles from the *Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*.

<sup>17</sup> In his *Itinerarium*, p. 113a.

<sup>18</sup> In his *Itinerarium*, p. 114a:

Henricus Martini Pastorij tertio genitus filius Martiale caput, sub Ducibus Luneburgiacis miles conscriptus, rei Tormentariae seruijt, in conflictu antem Tormenti globo tactus praemature interiijt annum uix complens vicesimo quintum."

**RÖMISCHER ADLER.**  
Oder  
THEATRUM  
**ELECTIONIS**  
ET CORONATIONIS  
ROMANO-CÆSARÆ,

Mit denen darbey  
**Interessirenden Hohen Stands- Personen.**

In Zwey Theilrepräsentirt.

Im Ersten:

Von der Wahl vnd Crönung  
**Eines Römischen Keyfers oder Königs /**  
Dabey zu sehen / was so wol An. 1653. in dem letzteren Reichs- Wahl  
vnd Crönungs- Tag zu Regenspurg vnd Augspurg / als in vorigen  
OTTONIS I. vnd CAROLI V. sampt deren vff ihne  
ertheilten Chur- Stimmen fürs ange:  
Venebens jedes Stands Session vnd Reichs- Matricul, auch der  
Capitulation, wie solche jetzo im Brauch.

Im Andern:

**STEMMATA, ORIGINES, SYMBOLA, ÆTA-**  
**TES, INTERREGNA, PATRIÆ, CORONATIONES,**  
**RES GESTÆ, OBITUS, ET SEPULTURÆ**

aller Keyfer / von Iulio Cæsare an /  
So dann aller Weltlichen Churfürsten vom Ersten bis zu jetziger Zeit.  
Compendiosè / auff HARTMANNO MAURO vnd andern bewehrten Auhoren,  
Item der Guldeneu Bolla / zusammen gesetzt /  
Durch M. A. PASTORIUM J. V. D.

Auch mit Kupffern gezieret.

Frankfurt am Mayn /

In Verlegung Georg Fickwinds / Buchhändlers /  
Getruckt bey EGIDIO Wegeln.

ANNO M. DC. LXXI.





Her nephew, Francis Daniel Pastorius, relates a touching story of his first and only meeting with her, as he passed through Erfurt on his way to Jena :

“Mine Aunt Rebecca I saw when I passed through Erford towards Jena. One Mr. Winter, an ancient Canonicus of the Cathedral in the sd City of Erford, sending for her out of the Cloister wherein she lived to his dwelling house, where he among many pretty discourses also admired the great difference of the Sundry Gifts which God bestows upon his Creatures; For, said he, Augustin Pastorius in deed received Five Talents, as appears by his extraordinary Writings, (shewing unto me the *Reichs Adler* and other books by him published,) Melchior Adam but two, and this harmless Nun (pointing to my sd Aunt) hardly one, &c. And really she looked to be extreme Jnnocent & if not meriting Heaven through her self-conceited good works, I thought it would be a pity she should deserve hell.”<sup>19</sup>

In discussing the two youngest sons, Melchior Adam and Balthasar Pastorius, our interest centres about the former, as little more than the name is known of Balthasar.

#### MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS.

The life and writings of Melchoir Adam Pastorius shed much important light upon the career and works of his son Francis Daniel Pastorius, the subject of our study, justifying the detail of this chapter.

Melchior Adam Pastorius was born in Erfurt, Sept. 22, 1624, and received his early education in his native city. Having finished his study of the “humaniora” he left Erfurt Sept. 3, 1643, to enter the University of Würzburg. In the account<sup>20</sup> of his travels he has left us the names of those nearest to him in Erfurt in the following distichs :

<sup>19</sup> The Genealogical Sketch.

<sup>20</sup> The Latin title is: Melchioris Adami Pastorii | Erffvrtensis | Itinerarium | et | Vitæ Cvrrievlvs (quoted as *Itinerarium*).

"Hi sunt quos charos mihi Patria iunxerat olim  
 Dresanus, Roland, Dorstius Hunger, Aper  
 Demar, Riess, Fleischmann, Iunemann, Iunckerque, Weserque  
 Mente alij dudum iam cecidere meo.  
 Quam bene vixerimus sub eodem sidere nati,  
 Præceptor Dunhos carmine testis erat.  
 Testis erat Petri Mons, quem defendimis vnà  
 Contra oppugnantes quotquot adusque forent."<sup>21</sup>

Among his other farewell reminiscences of Erfurt are to be found a poem in praise of Thuringia and the city of Erfurt "Encomium Thuringiæ et Urbis patriæ Erffurtensis" in distichs, and another entitled "Materna Dimissio, Et omnis felicitatis apprecatio ad Melchiorem Adamum Pastorium cum absolutis studijs humanioribus Erffurto ad Academias progredereetur, die 3 Sept., 1643," recalling the parting words of his mother.

As it turned out, his journey to Würzburg was but the prelude of a still longer journey to Switzerland, Rome, Vienna and Paris, during a period of six years. The description of these travels ("Itineris Descriptio") is full of the most interesting detail, rivalling the classical autobiography of Thomas Platter.<sup>22</sup> The full text is well worthy of publication, but a bare synopsis only can be given here. The itinerary led from Erfurt to Eichsfeld, where he visited the Mons Adjutorii, the famous abode of a demon, according to a legend going back to the time of St. Boniface; to Gotha, where he saw Schloss Friedensstein; to Fulda, where he visited the splendid cathedral with its hundreds of bells and cymbals; to Frankfurt-on-the-Main, where he saw the beautiful stone bridge over the Main to Sachsenhausen and heard the story of the "Pfeiffer Gericht," which he describes; to Mainz, the home of Gutenberg, the inventor of printing, to whom he devotes a few distichs, and the seat of the cruel Bishop Hatto;

<sup>21</sup> The poem is entitled: "De Bonis Amicis | Melchioris Adami Pastorii | In diuersis Munda Partibus | repertis | 10. De Patriotis Erffurtensibus."

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Thomas Platter's Selbstbiographic... Hrsg. von Henrich Boos, Leipzig, 1878.*

to Aschaffenburg, the residence of the Elector, by way of Frankfurt and Hagenau, on through the Spessart by way of Wertheim and the monastery Triffenstein to Würzburg, where he found the Canon Philipp von Ried, whom his brother Johann Augustin as Resident of the Elector of Trier at Rome had aided in his suits against Anselmus Casimirus, the Archbishop of Mainz. The Canon received him kindly and gave him permission to take up the study of philosophy at the University of Würzburg.

At this juncture in the itinerary he interjects distichs in honor of Philipp von Ried and the following epitome of his own career and aspirations:

“Erfurt me genuit, docuitque fideliter artes  
Addidit artipotens Herbipolis Sophiam  
Post Sophiæ studium præceps me confero Romam  
Visurus quicquid continet illa boni.”<sup>23</sup>

When the summons was issued to the conclave to elect a new successor to Pope Urban, who died Aug. 29, 1644, Carolus Rosetti, Apostolic Nuncius of Cologne, who had but recently been made cardinal, set out from Cologne for Italy, stopping over at the Prince's residence at Würzburg. Philipp von Ried took Pastorius to Prince Johann Philipp von Schönborn, and both presented him to the cardinal and recommended that he study seven years without tuition at the German College in Rome. Pastorius accordingly accompanied the Cardinal on his way to Rome.

The description of the journey is given with rich and interesting details. From Würzburg they went to Kitzingen, spending the night at the monastery; thence by way of Neustadt-on-the-Aisch to Emskirchen, where they had a poor dinner; to Nürnberg, where they were guests at the German Court and saw the relics of the Hospitalkirche, the Castle and the City Hall; thence by way of Schwabach and Gmünd to the German House in Oettingen by way of Pappenheim and Monnheim to

---

<sup>23</sup> In the *Itinerarium*, p. 12a.

Donauwert; thence by way of Wesendorf and Obernhausen to Augsburg. A half hour out of Obernhausen they met two wagons laden with straw. The wagons halted on each side of the Cardinal's coach and twenty peasants crept out of the straw with rakes, pitchforks and flails, and gave the Cardinal a vocal serenade. Then throwing down their farm implements they took musical instruments from the straw and played an open air concert.<sup>24</sup> In describing Augsburg, Pastorius repeats the old legend that the city was built 500 years before Rome and mentions the promulgation of the Augsburg confession in the presence of Charles V at the Imperial Diet in 1530. After two days in Augsburg the journey continued by way of Mittelfeld, whither the Elector of Bavaria sent two silver mounted coaches<sup>25</sup> with some cooks to meet and feast the Cardinal and his retinue on their way to Munich, where they spent some days in feasting as the guests of the Elector. The electoral escort accompanied the Cardinal by way of Landsberg to the borders of Tyrol. The journey now led past Seefeld, where the Cardinal was met by the Archepiscopal envoys of Innsbruck, the religious ceremony having much interesting detail. Leaving Seefeld they journeyed on over the mountain to Innsbruck, where they were guests in the Residence. Pastorius notes that he saw here for the first time a live eagle. From Innsbruck they passed on to Schwatz, where they "saw the snow on the mountain in the midst of the dog-

---

<sup>24</sup> The original passage in the *Itinerarium*, runs:

"Und als wir von dar [Obernhausen] kaum eine halbe stunde gegen Augsprug zue gefahren waren begegneten vns zween Wägen mitt stroh beladen die hielten uff beyden seitten des Cardinals Kutschen und krochen aus dem Stroh heraus 20 Augspurger Bauren mitt Rechen, Hewgabeln, und Treschflegeln, praesentirten eine überaus herrliche Musicam vocalem, dann warffen sie ihre Bauren Instrumenta hin, und namen dargegen allerhand instrumenta Musicalia aus dem strohe und spielten im freyen Felde uber alle massen lieblich." (p. 12b.)

<sup>25</sup> The original has "Silberwägen." The silver coach and livré was that reserved for the clergy.

# FRANCONIA RĒDIVIVA.

Das ist:

Des Hochlöblichen

**Fränckischen Graises**

So wohl Genealogische/  
als Historische

**Beschreibung/**

In welcher enthalten:

1. Derer Fränckischen Könige und Herzoge Anfunfft.
2. Deren Hochstifter und Bisthümer Origines.
3. Derer Durchl. Hoch-Fürstl. Häuser Brandenb.
4. Des Hochlöbl. Hoch- und Teutsch Meisterthumbs.
5. Derer Hochstl. Successoren des Hauses Henneberg.
6. Des Hoch-Fürstlichen Hauses Schwarzenberg.
7. Des Hoch-Gräfflichen Collegii in Francken.
8. Derer Vnff Kaiserl. Frey- und Reichs-Städte.
9. Derer übrigen Städte/Flecken und Klöster.
10. Derer Gebürge/Wälder/und Wasser-Flüsse.
11. Nebst einem Anhang von Hochlöblicher Ritterschafft in Francken/ und andern Hochadelichen Geschlechtern.

Alles mit Fleiß colligirt und in publicum  
gegeben durch

MELCHIOREM ADAM. PASTORIUM,

J. U. D. Hochfürstl. Brandenb. Bayreuth. Racht  
und Historicum.

In Verlegung des Authoris. 1702.



days," past Lug over the Brenner, by Sterzingen, Brixen, Bozen, Trient, where they could hear German in one street and Italian in another. In Trient they took ship for Verona-on-the-Etsch, once the residence of Dietrich of Bern. The next day they arrived at the villa (Palatium) of Cardinal Rosetti's brother, Count of Ferrara, who appeared to Pastorius strikingly selfish and stingy, as he did not give the Cardinal's retinue even a morsel of bread to eat.<sup>26</sup> The next day they came to the city of Ferrara, where the Cardinal's family resided. Here likewise the retinue were left to shift for themselves in the inns. Pastorius was cared for by the Cardinal's father confessor, Hieronymus Piombinus (Plumbinus), who took him along to his native city, La Terra Cento. The confessor took Pastorius with him to the cloister to visit the nuns, who were much astonished at finding that a different language was spoken in Germany, and that the strangers could not understand their language. They sent Pastorius afterwards a platter of sweet cakes and other dainties,<sup>27</sup> and the confessor returned to Ferrara, leaving Pastorius in his new quarters. In a few days word came that the Cardinal had resumed his journey to Rome. Pastorius not able to join them at Ferrara had to follow them alone. He accordingly hurried on after them by way of Bononia (Bologna), noting particularly the ancient university which was founded, as he relates, by Emperor Theo-

---

<sup>26</sup> In his own words: "Der sich zwar mit seinem Hn. Brudern ergetzete, aber keinem Raisgefehdeñ keinen Bissen Brod anbote, also das ich hungriß in einer scheuren schlaffen muste." (*Itinerarium*, p. 14b.)

<sup>27</sup> He writes: "Auch muste ich mitt ihme [dem Beichtvater] in ein Nonnen Closter gehen allwo er seine Schwestern besuchte, die verwunderten sich sehr das in Teütschland die Leüte anderst redeten als sie, und das ich ihre spraache nicht konte, sie sendeten mir nachgehends in mein quartier eine gute Schüssel voll von Gewürtz und Zucker gebackenen Brods." (*Itinerarium*, p. 15a.)



dosius and confirmed by Carolus Magnus;,<sup>28</sup> passing through Imola, Faenza (where was to be seen the splendid cathedral in which Cardinal Rosetti had officiated as bishop), Cesena, Alla Catholica, Pesaro, Fano and Senegallia (where he was about to dip up salt sea-water with his hat to drink, when an Italian stopped him, motioning to him to put his finger in the water and lick it with his tongue). He journeyed on to Ancona, where he recalls the famous proverb:

“Vnus Petrus in Roma  
Vnus Portus in Ancona  
Vna Turris in Cremona.”

Leaving Ancona he passed on to Loreto, the city with but a single gate, and its legend of the angels of Nazareth and other historic curiosities, to Racanati, to Macerata, with its university and monastery, to Tolentino, Foligno, Spoleto, through the valle della strettura to Narni, Otricoli, over the Tiber to Civita Castellana, Rignano, Castelnuovo, through the Prima Porta into the city of Rome, arriving Aug. 28, 1644 on St. Augustine's Day, the saint day of his brother Johann Augustin Pastorius, who was then practicing law in Rome and here saw his younger brother for the first time.

Not having overtaken the Cardinal on the way, Pastorius,

---

<sup>28</sup> His account runs thus: “Kayser Theodosius hat wider die Vniversität gestiftet welche Carolus M. und viel Pábste confirmiret, so auch lange Zeitt der massen floriret das die Statt daruon den Nahmen bekommen Bononia Mater studiorum, und: Bononia docet. Nach deme aber ein Gubernator sub Gregorio XIII einen Teütschen studenten, Vmb das man zu Nachts Waffen bey ihme gefunden, hatte Wippen lassen, hat sich die gantze Teütsche Nation zu gleich auffgemacht und die Rempublicam Venetianam ersuchet ihnen einen Orth zu Vffrichtung einer Vniversität zu assigniren da ihnen dann die Statt Padua eingeräumt worden, weiche noch heutiges Tages in flore ist, dargegen das herrliche Collegiu oder Vniversität zu Bononia fast ganz leer stehet.” (*Itinerarium*, p. 15b.)

after his arrival at Rome, drove with a friend<sup>29</sup> to the palace of the Cardinal to pay his respects and thank the confessor Plumbinus for his friendly services in Terra Cento. He devotes a number of distichs to his brother, to Cardinal Rosetti and Plumbinus.

*At the German College in Rome.*

The following day his brother Augustin accompanied him to the German College and presented him to the Rector, Pater Antonius Casilius of the Society of Jesus, who accepted him as a prospective student. Pastorius' own account of his initiation and life at the college is so interesting that it is given here in translation as an important picture of student life in Rome in the middle of the seventeenth century:

"The next day my brother accompanied me to the German College and recommended me to the Rector, Father Antonius Casilius, of the Society of Jesus, who received me kindly and ordered me to be taken care of as a guest for three days by Peter Philipp von Dernbach and Johann Philipp von Walderndorff, who washed my feet the first evening, and then took their meals with me alone, for three days, engaging me in friendly conversation. On the fourth day I had to take a room to myself but was permitted to appear two weeks in my secular garb, after which they cut off my hair and put a red coat on me, such as the others wore, and I had to live in accordance with the rules which they had taught me these two weeks:

*Rules of the German College.*<sup>30</sup>

1. In the morning early, at break of day, the usual bell gives the signal for rising, dressing, and making the beds, which one must do himself, while the one on duty<sup>31</sup> for the week brings fresh water

---

<sup>29</sup> Presumably Christophorus Bernier, to whom he dedicates some preprandial distichs, to which is appended the following:

"Nach eingenommener Mittags Mahlzeit fuhren wir in einer Kutsche spaziren, und kamen in des Cardinals Rosetti Pallast besuchten dessen Beichtvattern gegen welchem ich mich wegen empffangener Gutthaten à Terra Cento bedanckete." (*Itinerarium*, p. 17b.)

<sup>30</sup> "Regulæ Collegij Germanici."

<sup>31</sup> The term used is "Wöchner," translated here: "the one on duty," "waiter."

to the usual place, where each one must go to wash; all of which must be done in half an hour.

2. After this the bell gives the second signal, for prayer and religious meditation. Each one kneels before his shrine and table, offers his morning prayer, and meditates on the passion, suffering, birth and resurrection of Christ, as the calendar and feast days direct. This prayer and meditation lasted at the most a quarter of an hour.

3. Then the bell sounds a third signal, to prepare for the Academic studies, for which there is about half an hour.

4. The fourth signal is given, to go into the Refectorium, or dining room, where each one sits at his accustomed table and partakes of a glass full of good old wine, and four or five rolls, so that one need not go with an empty stomach through the bad air into the Roman College.

5. Then the seventy students assemble themselves in the Atrium or court, and go two by two into the Jesuit College, each one to his appropriate class, and write what the Professor dictates, discuss, argue and dispute,<sup>82</sup> at certain set periods. The lectures close about ten o'clock in the morning, and the students return home in the same order as they went.

6. They look over at home that which has been dictated, and think over it to find out what doubts or objections can be raised against it.

7. After this the bell gives the signal to go to the Refectorium for the midday meal, when they all go together into the ante-chamber of the Refectorium and wash their hands, handing each other the dry towel out of politeness.

8. Then each one goes to his place at the table, till prayer is offered by a priest.

9. Then they take their seats in silence, and all the while the one on duty has to read from the rostrum accounts of the Holy Martyrs as long as they sit at table.

10. Each room has a special table and a special one on duty each week as waiter, who brings fresh spring water in the morning for washing, and serves the meals at midday and evening, at times sweeps the rooms, and on Saturday brings each student clean linen from the wardrobe.

11. When the food is served, those on duty have round disks, of the size of a plough wheel, with a raised stem or handle in the middle to take hold of. Around this are arranged as many little

---

<sup>82</sup> In the original: "arguiren, argumentiren und disputiren."

platters, or dishes, as there are persons sitting at the table. This round tray with the dishes is held over the middle of the table, and each one must take that dish which is directly opposite his place, and must not reach past it to take another.

12. While they are eating the first course, the waiter goes into the kitchen and brings the second course in the same number of small dishes, holds the tray above the table, and each takes the full dish and sets the empty one on the tray, so that the waiter can take it away; and the same is done with the third course and with the postpast, or fruit.

13. The serving of the drink is somewhat easier, for above the table are two double rows of steins, one with wine, the other with water. Each student may pour out for himself as often as he wishes, and may mix the water and wine or not, as he wishes. When the wine vessel is empty, the waiter must fill it again.

14. On Fridays and Fast days, there is but one meal, and in the evening a few apples or pears or olives, and a glass of wine.

15. When the meal has been finished in silence (for no one is permitted to speak a word aloud with his neighbor), they all stand up at one time and a priest returns thanks. Then each one goes into his own room for half an hour, where they may walk around and talk in the recreation hall.

16. Then the bell sounds the signal to take up the books again and prepare for school, for the students must appear daily at one o'clock in the Roman College, and remain there for three hours, exercising and writing dictation.

17. At four o'clock the students go home again in good order, and go over their dictation as in the morning, until the bell rings for supper, which is served in the same way as dinner. After supper the students again have half an hour for recreation and conversation.

18. Then the bell rings for evening prayers and spiritual meditation, and recalling all that has been done during the day, whether good or bad. Then each one makes his bed himself, and goes to rest, to await the sound of the bell the next morning.

19. Every Wednesday is a special day for recreation, for walks outside of the city, in the beautiful garden of the College in front of the Porta Populi, in which there are all sorts of games with balls, with the ring, or in the halls on tables, or the students may eat fruits and take their meals in the garden on this day.

20. On Sundays and Feastdays, the seventy Alumni must appear in the church and sing the Horæ in the mass, just as the Canonici Regulares, and an Alumnus must preach at appointed times in German.

The Hungarian Church, Santo Stephano Rotundo, with its prebends, is united with this German College. In it, yearly at the Church Festival, the Alumni are splendidly entertained, receiving wild boar to eat.

The 15th of September, 1644, Innocentius X was elected Pope; then we were permitted to go outside the College and to see from the banks of the Tiber the fireworks at night in the Castle of Saint Angelo. Such a splendid display I had never before seen in my life.

In like manner we were permitted to witness the Papal procession from St. Peter's to St. John Lateran where we took our position at a certain corner of the street and besought the blessing of the Pope, which he gave us with a smiling countenance.

After I had spent three months in this College, and the time of probation was passed, I was expected to take the vow and subscribe to the rules in the same manner as if I wanted to become a priest; but this mode of life was entirely against my nature, and I had no desire for the priestly order. So I asked for dismissal and permission to study law with my brother. Moreover, I wished to see something [of the world] at the same time, which was impossible in this place of seclusion. Accordingly, I was released, and turned my attention to the study of the Law, attending the secular University Alla Sapienza. I went to see all the curiosities and places of amusement, both within and outside of Rome, and also learned the Roman language, which would never have happened in the secluded College among the Germans.

The Rector, Father Antonius Casilius, was well disposed towards me, and would gladly have kept me in the College had I been willing to remain."

The Rector of the German College and other friends of this period are the subjects of poems written in distichs. From these verses we take the following names:

Antonius Casilius (the Rector of the German College), Laurentius Cöler, Athanasius Kirchner, Count Ioannes Baptista Lodron (whom he calls "Amicissimus mihi in Collegio Dominus Comes"), Baron Ioannes de Hedruar, Paris à Zürletto, Petrus Philippus de Derenbach ("Exceptus meus charissimus in Collegio"), Ioannes Philippus a Wallderdorf ("Alter Exceptor meus Papæ Defensor et Cultor").

In Rome Pastorius spent altogether during his first sojourn about one and a half years. While he seems to have made good

PROGNOSTICON

<sup>sive</sup>  
Calendarium Perpetuum

De Anni qualitate et futuris Temporibus.

Ad Lectorem:

Vt ventura scias Prognostica Chare Tobias

Paruula Scripta lege, Lectaq; mente tege.

Perpetua esse puta, dicq; omni tempore tuta

Quae non errabunt, sed tibi vera dabunt

Dum Astronomi complures (qui quotannis ex Siderum ratione ac motu terrestrium metuntur futuros Effectus conscriptosque venditant;) haecenus enormiter decepti fuerint; Insurrexit quidam Homo industrius qui Prognosticon nouum infallibile, et nihil omnino falsi in se complectens, in minutissimo Libellulo conscripsit, non solum uno Anno, sed etiam cunctis superuenientibus ratum verumq; futurum. Quod omnibus Hilariis et potulantibus hisce communicandum decreui Datum Euffordiae die .5. Martialis. Anno 1591.

Caput. I. De Anni qualitate:

Solis caelestis circumferentia per totum hunc annum rotunda erit, non quadrata. secus in Luna uidebitur, quae quandoq; cornuta uidebitur.

Aureus numerus hoc Anno paruus erit, et modicus, praesertim apud pauperes.

Multa futura sunt hoc anno tenebrae, praesertim media nocte, et Temporalis tempore

Sanguinem minuere bonum est, quoties hominem necessitas ad id impulerit. Vitanda tamen est maxima illa sanguinis minutio quae fit per abscissionem Capitis.

In Martio utilia sunt scabiosis Balnea et unguenta fricatio quoq; erit illis non ingrata

In mense Iulio uina ex frigidioribus Cellarijs allata sitientibus sunt iucundissima.



use of his opportunity to study the theory and practice of jurisprudence, he was most diligent in viewing the sights and rare treasures in and around the Eternal City, which are minutely described in his "Descriptio Romæ."<sup>33</sup>

Early in 1646,, as appears from his *Itinerarium*, Pastorius left Rome to return to Germany. The journey was by way of Caprarola, Viterbo, Montefiscone, Siena, Florence, Bologna, Ferrara, Mantua (the birthplace of Vergil), Verona with its theatre holding 2500 persons, Trient,<sup>34</sup> Schwatz and Sterzingen with their mines and cutlery, Hall with its salt springs, and Innsbruck, arriving in Munich, March 6, 1646, where he spent some months in rest and sight-seeing. To the reigning Duke of Bavaria, Maximilian, he composed an anagram.

On the 19th of August, 1646, he took ship down the Isar and sailed toward the Danube, passing Freisingen that day; Landshut, with the highest towers in Germany, on the 20th; Pfädlingen, on the 22d; Passau, on the 23d; arriving in Linz on the 24th, where Emperor Ferdinand III was holding his court in the imperial palace.<sup>35</sup>

While here Pastorius witnessed some significant historic events, as his own account will show: "Four miles from Linz is the city of Steier, where there is an imperial castle also,

---

<sup>33</sup> An important chapter in the *Itinerarium* (pp. 21a-27b). In striking contrast to other accounts of the time such as *Abgebildetes | Altes Rom. | aus dem Italienischen ins Hochteutsche | mit Fleiss übersetzt von | Alberto Reimaro Lubecense. | Gedruckt zu Aernhem | In Verlegung Johan Friedrich Haagen; | Buchhändlers. | Anno MDCLXII*, because Pastorius lays more stress on the survivals.

<sup>34</sup> Here he remarks (*Itinerarium*, p. 29a): "in diser Gegend viel Mandelkern Bäume und der köstlichste Wein wächst."

<sup>35</sup> He relates the following interesting incident reflecting on the law practice of the time (*Itinerarium*, p. 29b): "Ich hatte über 3. Tage nicht im Würtshause gezehret, da wurde ich bey dem Hn. Graffen Marradas conditioniret, deme ich seine concepirte italienische schriftten in Latein und Teütsch vertiren muste, dann er keinem iuristen trawete sondern er selbst alle seine Rechts process selbstn führete."



which I visited together with the monastery S. Florian and Steiergersten at the time when the Emperor was leaving to take Ferdinand IV to Prague to be crowned King of Bohemia, and had issued the decree that only a few should go along.

"Meanwhile I busied myself with poetry and composed a *Carmen Gratulatorium*, had it printed and presented it after the return [of the Emperor and the new King] in the open court, and was rewarded with 30 Reichsthaler.

"Soon after this the Empress Eleonora, Infanta of Spain, died at Linz. Her body lay in state for several days in the great hall of the palace, and was then placed on board a ship draped in black and escorted to Vienna by a fleet of many ships and a large retinue. The Swedish fortification at Kornneuburg fired upon the fleet with cannons, for which act of disrespect the Emperor dispatched an envoy to Sweden, whereupon the Swedish commander was discharged<sup>36</sup>."

At the end of August, 1647, the Imperial Court left Linz for Vienna and Pressburg to participate in the coronation of Ferdinand IV, as King of Hungary. As there was a lack of ships, Pastorius was unable to join the suite, but on the 8th of September he took passage with a number of clerics on a raft and shipped up the river Enns to the City of Enns, where the Enns empties into the Danube. Passing Ipsstein, Grembs, and Kornneuburg, he arrived in Vienna on the 12th of September, and continued his journey on the 15th by way of Fischbach to Pressburg, where he met his old fellow-student in the German College, Baron de Hedruar, who treated him magnificently and introduced him to a number of magnates and counts, among them Palffi, Nadasti, and Hommonai. September 27th the coronation of Ferdinand IV took place and the Imperial Court returned to Vienna, whither Pastorius also went with Count Hommonai. The Count offered Pastorius the hospitality of his table.

---

<sup>36</sup> See the *Itinerarium*, p. 29b.

As the events of the war had become more ominous, Pastorius was warned by his brother to return at once to Rome. Accordingly, on the 20th of November, he left Vienna, going by hackney-coach to Steier, and thence by way of Seekirchen and Sanct Georgen when the prelate sent him by horseback to the Monastery at Salzburg, where he had free entertainment. Here he met again his old friend Zürletto. Thence he continued his journey to Waidering, Brixen, Bozen, Trient, Verona, Ferrara, Bologna, Loreto, Macerata, Tolentino, Foligno, on to Rome, where he was greeted by his brother at the end of December, 1647.

Here he continued the study of Jurisrudence, practicing in the Roman trials with his brother, and informing himself in the details of his brother's cases, particularly in the cases of Philippus Christophorus of Zöteren, the Elector of Trier, taking his brother's place in the business. On the 26th of April, 1648, his brother returned to Germany, leaving Melchior Adam Pastorius in his place as Resident at Rome for the Elector of Trier. This position Melchior Adam held for a period of five months, at the end of which, on the 12th of September, he left Rome in the company of Bartholomaeus Nagel, M. D., passing by way of Rignano to Otricoli. The next day they went by way of Narni and Terni to Spoleto, on the 14th by way of Foligno to Seralvalle, the 15th by way of Vallemara to Tolentino, the 16th by way of Macerata to Loreto, the 17th to Ancona, the 19th by way of Fano to Pesaro, the 20th by way of Alla Catholica to Savignano, the 21st by way of Forli Grande to Faenza, the 22d by way of S. Nicolo to Bologna, where he remained four days. On the 27th in the evening he took ship for Ferrara, arriving the next day at noon. Here he met his old student friend of the German College Bartholomaeus Dannazoll, who had meanwhile become a priest and now entertained him at the inn. On the day of his arrival at Ferrara, he met his old friend, the painter Andreas Petri of Prague, who had painted for him and his

brother at Rome. This same day he took a coach for the river Po, where he embarked for Venice, arriving the following day. On the 31st of September he reached Padua, with its old University and splendid city hall, meeting here Dannazoll again. He then continued the journey on the 2d of October to Passano, Pass Kobol, by the rapid Brenta, to Primolano, Castelnuovo, arriving at Trient the 4th of October. Leaving Trient he passed on to Tramin and Solurn. On the 5th of October he came to Bozen, where he met another old friend, Otto Moritz von Kraus of Krauseck, who entertained him several days. On the 9th of October he journeyed on by way of Collmann to Brixen, on the 10th to Sterzingen, on the 11th to the Brenner Pass, on the 12th by way of Steinach and Materan to Hall in the Valley of the Inn, where he met his old friend Wolfgang Eber who had been his messmate in Rome, and who had taught him how to boil "kupfferweis."<sup>36a</sup> On the 13th of October he journeyed to Innsburck, on the 14th, 15th, 16th by way of Ziel to Landeck, on the 17th to St. Jacob, on the 18th over the Adlersberg to Nenzig, the 20th-21st by way of Rastriz, Neuburg, Ems to Monnheim, where they crossed the Rhine. On the 24th they sailed across the Bodensee to Costniz, meeting there another old companion of the German College Franciscus Drocken, now a canon at that place. On the 26th of October he came to Schaffhausen, where he met his old acquaintance Johannes Wepfer, M. D., who took him to see the Falls of the Rhine. On the 29th of October he reached the Monastery Klingenuau, and went the following day by ship to Laufenberg, where he and his friend Bartholomaeus Nagel were entertained by the Ensign Emanuel Schöner. He now journeyed on past Rheinfeld, arriving at Basel November 1st. On the 3d of November they reached Breisach, where they received the first news of the Peace of Münster and Osnabrück. Having secured passes, they went on to Strass-

---

<sup>36a</sup>. "Der zu Rom. bey mir im convictu gewesen war, und mich das Kupfferweis zu sieden gelehret hatte" (*Itinerarium*, p. 35b).

FORMA CIVITATIS IMP:  
LIBERÆ WINDSHEIMENSIS.

Oder

Vniuersal = Beschreibung: Des heyligen  
Römischen Reichs Statt Windsheim Status  
Publici. Namentlich: Liner & Allen Hof-  
schon Magistrat, Jassen Section- und  
Ordnung. Samt dempfligen Rumpfer Pfla-  
gen, Jinner, Bürgergasth, Verbotssamen  
Vff dem Landt. Regalien, Priuilegien,  
Jurisdiction, Intraden, und Zuzgaben.

Nachst Zuzgehör:

Policej:	--	90
Geriht:	--	82
Heltgeriht:	--	Ordnung: ii
Feur:	--	84
Schnal:	--	95
Wisz:		

Beschriben Von Melchioro Adamo Pastorio  
i. V. D.<sup>o</sup> Consule ac F. d. li. seniore  
die. 27. Septembris Anno Christi 1692.

TITLE PAGE.—MANUSCRIPT.

Original Form of Pastorius' "Kurtze Beschreibung" of Windsheim.  
Published in 1692.



burg, November 5th, where they were entertained by a student of Rothenburg, and visited the Münster. In Strassburg they bought a small boat and hired a boatman to take them to Mainz. The Tutor (Hofmeister) of the Polish Prince Razzivill went along with them, paying half the expenses. On the 7th of November they left Strassburg, at Philippsburg on the 9th they were held up by a Jew, who demanded toll, but producing their passes were allowed to proceed, and reached Speier the same day. On the 10th of November they went by way of Eigelsheim to Mannheim, where they found but six houses standing, the rest of the city having been razed to the ground.<sup>87</sup> On the 11th they reached Worms, noting particularly the inscription on the old tower, "Specula Vangionum." On the 12th of November they reached Oppenheim, viewing the beautiful pyramid erected to Gustavus Adolphus in memory of his crossing the Rhine. That evening they arrived at Mainz, where they ate their Christmas goose ("Martins Gans"), and took leave of Razzivill's tutor, who wished to take Pastorius with him to Poland, promising to make him a great and rich lord. This offer Pastorius foolishly declined, because, as he says himself, he had determined to see that accursed France<sup>87a</sup>. On the 14th Pastorius journeyed to "Elvell and Erbach, in Willens," to see his sister Margaretha and her husband Laurentius Bebler, but she had died meanwhile at the birth of her first child, Anna Maria, whom they showed him, lying in the cradle. On the 16th he proceeded to Bingen, and on the 17th down the Rhine

---

<sup>87</sup> This is a particularly interesting fact in contrast with the now large and flourishing city of Mannheim, which is celebrating the Tercentennial of its elevation to cityhood in 1607.

<sup>87a</sup>. Pastorius writes: "Nam ich uon dem Razziuillischen Hoffmeister Vrlaub welchem fast die augen übergiengen und mich gerne mitt in Pohlen gehabt hette mitt Versprechen Einen grossen und Reichen Herren aus mir zu machen aber ich schlug es vnvorsichtiglich ab, und rennete in mein eigen Vnglück, in deme ich mir all zu feste vorgenommen hatte das vermaledeyte Franckreich zu besichtigen." (*Itinerarium*, p. 38a.)

passing the old castles on the way to Coblenz, where they were entertained from the wine cellars of the Elector of Trier. On the 19th they reached Münster, on the 21st arrived at Trier, going to the house of Lucas Roerich, M. D., who had been their guest at Rome. Their meals they took at the Court table at Trier. On the 12th of December Pastorius reached Diethofen, on the 14th Metz, on the 15th Pontimossou, on the 17th Nancy, on the 20th Toul, on the 24th Bar-le-Duc, Nagel having accompanied him on the journey. On the 28th of December they passed out of Lorraine into France, by way of Sendisi, reaching Vitry on the 29th and Chalon on the 31st. On the 3d of January, 1649, they left Chalon, but lost their way in the darkness and rain and were unable to find a bed to sleep in, until a barber took them in and gave them a place at his fireside. On the 6th of January they reached the city of Momi-rell, where they remained six days. On the 13th they journeyed to Forté where they were taken for spies, but were finally liberated through the intervention of a grain dealer, who secured a boat for them, and had them sent over the river secretly. They then proceeded to Meaux and arrived in Paris the 17th of January, 1649.

To Paris he devotes the following verses:

*Laus Lutetiae Parijsiorum.*

Se laudent aliæ, pro me modo Fama loquatur  
 Si poterit uero murmure Fama loqui  
 Nam mea Maiestas non uno cernitur anno  
 Ampla nimis spacium longius illa cupit  
 Ipsa mihi uix nota, vias, Turresque Domosque  
 Non numero, immensi singula Nomen habent  
 Tam grandem bifido scindit me Sequana cursu  
 Tectaque Pontigera Regia lambit aqua.<sup>37b</sup>

The city of Paris was at this time in a state of siege and disorder. Prince Condé had blockaded all the thoroughfares,

---

<sup>37b</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 40b.

Kurze  
Beschreibung  
Des H. R. Reichs Stadt  
**Windsheim** /

Samt

Dero vielfältigen Unglücks-Fällen/  
und wahrhaftigen Ursachen ihrer so groß-  
sen Decadenz und Erbarmungs-wür-  
digen Zustandes /

Aus

Alten glaubwürdigen Documentis und  
Briefflichen Urkunden ( der 180 lebenden lieben  
Burgerschaft / und Dero Nachkommen / zu gutes  
Nachricht) also zusammen getragen / und in  
den Druck gegeben

durch

Melchiorum Adamum Pastorium,  
ältern Burgemeistern und Ober-Rich-  
tern in besagter Stadt.

---

Gedruckt zu Nürnberg  
bey Christian Sigmund Froberg.

Im Jahr Christi 1692.





and famine threatened the city. The friendly offices of a Member of Parliament secured Pastorius his personal liberty. He took quarters at the home of a Dr. Heilmann in Saint Germain and laid in his own provisions, living quietly to avoid the dangers of the tumult. He left Paris on the 17th of June, 1649, with Lucas Kleilein, as his traveling companion, and journeyed by way of Corbeil, Myli, Montagni, St. Jean, Briard, Soleil, Molin, Poroin, and Palaise, arriving at Roan July the 1st, and passed on thence to St. Martin and La Brelle and Lyons. On the 5th of July he proceeded to Burg without Kleilein, who had escaped with some of Pastorius' manuscripts and other effects, avoiding a board bill in Lyons; thence, July 8th to Nantua; July 9th to Cologne and Geneva, the 12th to Newis, the 13th to Lausanne, the 14th to Orbon, the 15th to Solothurn, the 16th to August, arriving on the 18th at Basel. On the 1st of September he left Basel for Germany, passing St. Blasius in the Black Forest, where he met an old fellow student of the German College, Father Blasius Sarwei, who gave him the freedom of the Monastery. He journeyed thence to Villingen, Rothweil, Tübingen, Hohentwiel and Stuttgart, where he had an interview with Dr. Johann Vallentin Andreae, who was Court Preacher there, and wished to give him a position at Court, which he, however, declined. On the 27th of August, he left Stuttgart for Cannstatt, Marbach, Bottwar, Jaxthausen, Habhausen, Röttingen, Lauda, Reigelsberg, Ingolstadt, and Winterhausen, where he was kindly received on the 29th of August by Wilhelm Trew, the Pastor of the place, and stepfather of his former traveling companion, Bartholomaeus Nagel. He asked Trew to give him money on his paper, but failing to receive cash upon his note from the parson, who put him off with the proffer of wein not yet sold, he returned to the Electoral Court at Würzburg, whence he had set out on his journey to Rome five years before.

Pastorius was weary of this aimless wandering and wished

a permanent position for the practice of his profession. He sought an audience with the Elector Johann Philipp, Archbishop of Mainz, explained to him his change of plan from the study of theology to that of jurisprudence, and asked his favor and commendation. As the Court was then being held in Würzburg, Pastorius was told to wait patiently until it was over. He took quarters with the City Captain ("Stadthauptmann") and had his meals at the Electoral table. He then had a cask of the Winterhausen wine sent to his quarters to enliven his spirits. His *Itinerarium* contains a most interesting account of the events at the Electoral Court at this time. Pastorius then sought another audience with the Archbishop and asked for a recommendation to the Count of Limpurg. The Archbishop gave him the following letter:

"Johann Philipp uon Gottes Gnaden Ertz Bischoff zu Myntz u. Churfürst.

Wohlgebohrner Lieber Getrewer aus der Innlage hastu zu ersehen was der Hochgelehrte vnser Lieber Besonder Melchior Adam Pastorius an vns gelangen lassen gleich wie wir nun dessen Wohlfart gerne befördert sehen möchten, also zweiffelt vns nicht Du werdest diese vnserer Recommendation so weith gültig sein lassen damitt selbiger nach seinen qualitäten bester massen möge untergebracht und befördert werden. Das begehren wir in dergleichen fällen in Genaden (:Wormitt wir Dir forderist wohl bey gethan verbleiben:) zu erkennen willig, und versehen vns der Willfahung—Datum vnserer Statt Würzburg den 27. Nov. 1649."<sup>37c</sup>

This document secured Pastorius the desired appointment in the service of Count Georg Friedrich of Limpurg, in Sommerhausen. His joy over the prospect of a new life is expressed in many of his poems dedicated later to the Count Georg Friedrich and Franciscus, the new heir apparent, and the members of the Sommerhausen circle, which he now entered.

Important changes took place in Pastorius' religious and social life during the first weeks of his sojourn in Sommerhausen. He laconically sums it up as follows (in English translation):

<sup>37c</sup>. Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 486.

"With these recommendations I betook myself to Sommerhausen, was well received by his Lordship George Friedrich of Limpurg, and married the estimable and virtuous Lady Magdalena Dietz; composed in writing my Evangelical Confession of Faith, left the Papal tenets and together with his Lordship of Limpurg partook of the Holy Sacrament on Christmas Day, 1649."<sup>38</sup>

The order of events is reversed in the *Itinerarium*. We learn from the *Actus Nuptiales* of Sommerhausen that he married January 22, 1650. The entry runs as follows:

Dn. Melchior Adamus Pastorius Erplordensis, J. V. D. welcher mit vorhingelegter Böpstischen religion, sich zu vnserer allein seeligmachenden Evangel. religion v. einer vngeänderten Augspurgisch confession mit hertz v. mundt öffentlich bekandt, auch bald darauf das hochw. abentmal in zweyerley gestalt, nach Christi selbst eigner stiftung, vf vorher empfang. privat absolution, genossen, nachgehents auch öffentlich, vff beschehene dreymalige offene proclamation v. gehaltener hochzeitpredigt, christ-ehe-v. ehrlich copuliret worden, mit der Ehr. v. Tugendsamen Fraw Magdalena, Weyland Hn. Johann Johms, Limp. Schultheiss allhier hinderlassener Wittib, den 22. Januarij.<sup>39</sup>

Magdalena, wife of Melchior Adam Pastorius, was born February 2, 1607. She was the daughter of Stephan Dietz, Schulteiss of Main-Nordheim in Brandenburg.<sup>40</sup> November 17, 1629, she married Heinrich Frischmann, Steward of Workhausen, and bore him three children, all of whom died young. After the death of her first husband, November 17, 1634,

<sup>38</sup> Cf. his *Itinerarium*, p. 48b. The original is in German.

<sup>39</sup> The original will be presented in photographic reproduction from the part of the church record or *Kirchenbuch* with the superscription: "Sequentur Actus nuptiales in ão 1650."

<sup>40</sup> F. D. Pastorius' Genealogical Sketch and M. A. P.'s *Itinerarium* (p. 114b).

she married Johann Johm, Steward in Sommerhausen, February 18, 1639. The issue of this union was four children, but two of whom, Margaretha and Ludwig, lived to any considerable age. January 3, 1648, Johm died,<sup>41</sup> leaving her a widow for the second time. She married Melchior Adam Pastorius January 2, 1650. The only child of this union was Francis Daniel Pastorius, the subject of this work. Magdalena died on Good Friday, March 27, 1657, and was buried in the graveyard in Sommerhausen, by the pastor of Winterhausen, her own pastor being ill at the time of the funeral.<sup>42</sup> Both Melchior Adam, her husband, and Francis Daniel, her son, have left loving and tender words touching her character. The former has the following verses in an anagram:

Von kindheit auff im Creutz und Nothstand must ich stecken  
 Mich thät der Kriegesschwall und manche plündrug schrecken  
 Mein's Vatters Haus und Hoff, auch was erwarb mein Mann  
 Must mitt dem Rücken ich als Wittib schauen an  
 In solcher Creutzes Schuel lernt ich die Welt uerachten  
 Vnd deren Eyttelkeit vonn innern grund betrachten  
 Ich sprach: O SPARE DA Mein Gott einst doch die peyn  
 O IESV AN DIR HANGT MEIN Gantze Lieb allein.<sup>43</sup>

Her husband, Melchior Adam Pastorius, gave public expression to her virtues in a printed sermon, as we learn from her son, Francis Daniel:<sup>44</sup>

"My said father, testifying his sincere and constant affection towards her in a printed funeral coment upon the words Holy

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the *Totenbuch* of Sommerhausen for 1648:

"G. Johann Johm, Praetor allhier, hat das zeitliche gesegnet, ist auch mit christlichen Ceremonien zur erden bestattet worden, den 4 Februarij."

<sup>42</sup> The record in the *Totenbuch* for 1657 is as follows: "Frau Magdalena, HE D. Pastorii eheliche Hausfrau, mit dem choro musico vom HE Pfarrer in Winterhausen, in meiner (des hiesigen Pfarrers Nikolaus Hoehn) Krankheit christlich und ehrlich zu grab geleitet und eingesarket worden am 29. Martii."

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 114b and p. 115a.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. F. D. Pastorius' *Biographical Sketch*.

David, Psal. 73, v. 2, 3 & 26, which were in a manner her symbolum, motto or device, and found according to Martin Luther's Dutch translation verbatim thus: When I have but thee, I care not for heaven and earth, and though my body and soul do pine away, yet art thou, O God, alone the comfort of my heart and my portion. She was a woman fearing the Lord, and ready to help the poor and the sick as much as in her lied, having for that end a small apothecary-shop in her own house, being herself pretty skilful in physick, &c. I shall say, no more of her whom I lost too early, but 6 years and 6 months old."

At the time when Pastorius went to Sommerhausen, Franciscus, the young son and heir apparent of Count Georg Friedrich of Limpurg, was but twelve years of age, and was under the instruction of tutors. Although *Der Limpurgische Ehrensaal*<sup>45</sup> mentions only one of these tutors, Georg Düring of Kitzing, a student of theology, it is quite likely that Pastorius had an important part in the young count's education. Before Franz reached his majority his father, Count Georg Frederick, died, October 5, 1651, and the young count was placed under guardians.

The efficiency of Franz's tutors, as well as his own native ability were soon to be put to a test. As Count of Limpurg it was his office to serve as hereditary imperial cupbearer at the coronation of the new Emperor, in default of older representatives of the house. In the year 1653 Emperor Ferdinand III. summoned the Imperial Diet at Regensburg for the coronation of his newly elected successor, Ferdinand IV. As the older representatives of the house of Limpurg, Erasmus and Johann Wilhelm, were unable, because of age or infirmity, to perform the office of cupbearer, it was decided that young Franz, though only sixteen years of age, should assume the office. Arriving at Regensburg after a twenty-four hours' ride in a diligence, he found that the

---

<sup>45</sup> From an extract kindly furnished me by her Ladyship Christine Erbgräfin v. Rechteren-Limpurg, from *Der Limpurgische Ehrensaal von Georg Salomon Ziegler, PNE Limpurg 1739*.

order had been changed in favor of 'Count Sinzendorff, in the Maase'. Franz, nothing daunted, made open protest to the assembled knights, was restored to his rightful place and on the 8th of June served as cupbearer at the coronation, and on the 25th of July, in the same capacity at the coronation of the Empress. Notwithstanding the fact that he was at first refused horse, saddle and armor for the ceremony, he finally obtained his full equipment and returned home with honor and distinction to continue his studies in preparation for the university. In the autumn of 1655 he entered the then flourishing University of Altdorf,<sup>46</sup> as the following matriculation will show:

D. 25, Oct., 1655. Franciscus, Baro in Limpurg, S. R. I. Pincerna hæreditarius semperque Liber.<sup>47</sup>

In June, 1656, he returned home, but set out the following September, accompanied by his tutor (Hofmeister) Rudolph Graf, J. U. D., for France, returning April 26, 1658, to Sommerhausen. On the 27th of October, 1659, he went with one servant to Italy, where he learned the Italian language and saw with his own eyes "des Pabstums Greuelwesen," at Rome.<sup>48</sup> After his return from Italy, in 1660, he collected a large library and assumed the rule of his domains. In 1663 he married Fr. Maria Juliana geb. Gräfin von Hohenloh-Langenburg, widow of Johann Wilhelm of Limpurg-Schmidfeld. Count Franz ruled twelve years and died at the early age of thirty-six, November 16, 1673. Pastorius has left us a touching tribute to Count Georg Friedrich, both in German and Latin verses.<sup>49</sup> The first four of the German verses give a portrait of the count's personal appearance:

---

<sup>46</sup> Near Nürnberg.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Georg Andreäs Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Nürnber- gischen Universität Altdorf*. Altdorf, 1795, p. 244.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Der Limpurgische Ehrensaal*, l.c.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 50b and p. 51a-b.

Ob ich zwar uon Gestalt was scharff bin anzusehen  
So in Soldaten Stand so pflaget herzugehen  
Bin ich doch im Gemüth der Demuth zugehan  
Vnd hat bey mir Gehör, so Klein: als Grosser Mann.

The Latin verses bespeak Pastorius' own loss in the death of the Count:

O quantus mihi Fautor obit! quantusque Patronus!  
Protector Patriæ dum Fridericus obit  
O mea pars animæ, meus Vltor, et Altor opimus  
Dum mea mens super est, Te super astra feret.

Also for the young Count Franz, Pastorius had a like affection, as the following verses will show:

Quantum inimica Patris Fridridi Fata dolorem  
Mœstitiamque animo contribuere meo  
Tantam lætitiã de Te Francisce recepi  
Qui meus et Patriæ factus es ipse Parens.

Notwithstanding the departure of Count Franz for the university and his long journeys to France and Italy, the position of Pastorius at Sommerhausen must have promised permanency, for in 1655, the year of the young Count's departure for the university, he built a substantial house at Sommerhausen, which is still standing (1903) in a good state of preservation. The inscription on the date stone, not at the corner of the house, but at the left of the front door, runs thus: <sup>50</sup>

MELCHIOR ADAMUS PASTORIUS ANO DMI 1655  
SVO AERE EX FVDAMENTIS HOC HABITACVLVM  
SVO SVORVMQUE VSVI PARAVIT.

Translation:

"Melchior Adam Pastorius built this dwelling from the founda-

---

<sup>50</sup> The author is indebted to the present (1903) occupant of the house for the privilege of examining the interior and of having the house and date-stone photographed, and to Lehrer Friedrich Gutmann and his son of Sommerhausen for assistance.



tions with his own money for the use of himself and his family. Anno Domini 1655."

As may be seen from the accompanying plate, the inscription is cut in capitals about the coat-of-arms of the Pastorius family.

The happiness of this new home was interrupted by the death of Magdalena, in 1657. The father, left alone with his little Franciscus, married as his second wife Eva Margaretha maiden daughter of John Gelchsheimer, J. U. D. and Jur. Consul. of the Imperial City of Windsheim, February 9, 1658.<sup>51</sup> The first child of this union, Susanna, was born December 7, 1658, but lived scarcely four months. The second daughter, who was given the same name, was born June 10, 1660, but lived only nine days. On May 31 a third child was delivered, still-born, by a Caesarean section made by a skillful barber or surgeon (Balbierer) named Georg Appoldt. The mother succumbed to the operation on the 19th of the following June.

It was through his marriage with Margaretha Gelchsheimer that Pastorius transferred his residence from Sommerhausen to Windsheim. On the 3-13 of May, 1659, Johann Gelchsheimer died. His son-in-law, Melchior Adam Pastorius, was elected his successor and became a citizen of Windsheim, taking the burgher's oath on the 1st of August, 1659. The *Bürger und Subnerbuch*<sup>52</sup> of Windsheim contains the following entry:

---

<sup>51</sup> The *Itinerarium* (p. 116a) contains Pastorius' own account: "Melchior Adam Pastorius hatte in dieser Erstern Ehe gelebt 7. Jahr und 10. Wochen. Vnd nach deme es sein Zuestand nicht leyden wolte mit seinem Söhnlein Francisco Daniele in die länge In Sommerhausen zu verharren, hat er sich an des Wohl Edlen und Hochgelehrten Herren Iohann Gelchsheimers der Rechten Doctoris und des Heyl. Röm. Reichs Statt Windsheim bestellen Consulentens Jungfrau Tochter Euam Margaretham verheurathet den 9. Febr. 1658."

<sup>52</sup> Excerpted from the original ms. vol. of the *Bürger und Siebner Buch* in Windsheim.

I wish to acknowledge the kindly assistance of his Honor the Burgo-master, of the City accountant, Matthias Geuder, and of the Rev. Rud. Herold, resident Deacon, of Windsheim.



DATESTONE OF THE PASTORIUS HOUSE.  
SOMMERHAUSEN.



"Hr Melchior Adam Pastorius Jurium Doctor von Erfurt ausz Thüringen, so sich zu Hn Dr Johann Gelchsheimers, consulenten alhie ehl. Tochter verheirathet, ist bürger worden, und hat die gewöhnliche Pflicht abgelegt den 1. Aug. 1659."<sup>53</sup>

Having thus entered deeply into the official life of Windsheim with his only surviving child, Francis, still in need of maternal care, Pastorius married as his third wife the widow Barbara Greulich, of Hüttenheim, January 21, 1662. Barbara's maiden name was Heider. This union was without issue. Barbara died March 26, 1674. The city chronicle,<sup>54</sup> of Windsheim has the following entry for this year and month:

"The 29th Lady Barbara, the beloved wife of Burgomaster Pastorius was buried, aged 68 years."

Now that the only son, Francis Daniel, was prepared for the university, the father, Melchior Adam, married, September 22, 1674, as his fourth and last wife, Dorothea Esther Volckmann, maiden daughter of Adam Volckmann, J. C., of the city of Nürnberg.<sup>55</sup> The City Council of Windsheim voted ten Reichsthaler as a wedding present. This union had an issue of four children—Johann Samuel, who was born October 15, 1675, and died much lamented in the bloom of youth, October 18, 1687; Anna Carth-

<sup>53</sup> Pastorius himself gives the following account in his *Itinerarium* (p. 122a): "Den 3-13 maij. 1659. starb Herr Iohann Gelchsheimer I. V. D. und Consulent des H. Röm. Reichs Statt Windsh. An dessen stelle sein Tochtermann Melchior Adam Pastorius Ordentlich Beruffen worden lauth Bestallungs-Notul, und Beschreibung der Aduocatur Verrichtungen. Den 30. Sept. Anno 1659. wurde Melchior Adam Pastorius durch ordentliche Wahl in den Eüssern Rath Stand gewöhlet."

<sup>54</sup> Cf *Chronica Windsheimensis* II. 163 (March, 1674): "Den 29. ist begraben worden Frau Barbara Herrn Bürgermeisters Pastorii Eheliebste war 68. Jahr alt."

<sup>55</sup> The *Chronica Windsheimensis* II. 163 (Sept., 1674), has the following: "Den 22. Hat Herr D. und Bürgermeister Pastorius mit Jungfer Dorothea Esther, weiland Herrn Adam Volckmanns, gewesenen Hoffraths und Lehenvorstehers zu Bayreuth nachgelassene Tochter in Stadt Nürnberg Hochzeit gehabt und sind Ihnen von einem Hoch Edlen Rath 10. R. thaler verehret worden."

arina, born March 20, 1678; Margaretha Barbara, born August 14, 1680, and Augustin Adam, born August 5, 1682.

The birth of Johann Samuel had revived the hopes and family pride of Melchior Adam. His eldest son, Francis Daniel, was away studying at German universities, and the father could now lay plans for rearing another son to comfort his advancing years. When the light of this young life was prematurely extinguished, it seemed as if the father's heart would melt with grief. He pours out his sorrow in eight anagrams and devotes to his son's memory a dozen or more poems in German and Latin verses. In like manner Magister Georgius Leonhardus Modelius, Rector of the school in Windsheim, gives expression in a Latin eulogium<sup>56</sup> to his grief over the early death of the youth full of hope and promise. The most pathetic verses of the father are those entitled: *Genommener Abschied Johannis Samuelis Pastorii uon seinem Herrn Vatter, den 18 Aug., 1687*:

Ach hertzgelibter Vatter mein  
 Seh't doch an dise hauth und Bein  
 Könt ihr mir dann gar helffen nicht  
 Eh' mir mein mattes Hertz zerbricht.

Der Vatter antworttet:

Ach Liebster Sohn ich seh dein qual  
 Du iammerst mich ohn maas und Zahl  
 Von hertzen grund ich helffen wolt  
 Wann ich nur wüste wie ich solt.<sup>57</sup>

In Windsheim Melchior Adam Pastorius spent the last years of his life. He rose rapidly to the highest position of trust in the Imperial City, and distinguished himself in the execution of his duties as well as by his pen. The circle of colleagues and friends with which he had closest association may be seen in the following poem entitled:

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 130a.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, p. 133a and b.

LIBER  
INTIMISSI-  
MVS OMNIVM  
SEMPER MECVM  
CONTINENS  
THESAVRVM THESAVRORVM  
IESVM  
QVEM DILIGO SOLVM.  
IN QVO VIVO  
ET  
IN QVO MORIAR  
EGO

MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIVS. I. C.  
natione Erfurtensis. vocatione Consul se-  
nior et Pryctor Wintheimensis. Edilis  
Scholarcha et Xenodochij Sancti Spiritus  
Administrator.  
Scripsi hunc Libellum Anno Christi 1697. et fi-  
nisi 7. Junij. 1701.

TITLE PAGE.—MANUSCRIPT.



*Salve Windsheimium.*

Clamat pius Advena Pastor.

Hi sunt, quos veniens (:ducturus in Vrbe maritam :)  
Inueni Patres præpositos Patriæ  
Mercklinus tum Prætor erat. Ramminger et Eisen  
Cum Neuber Consul Stellwagiusque simul  
Postmodo Knör, Kilian, Vitus, Keget, atque Ioachim  
Seufferlin, Stampffer, Iann Vogel, atque Nagel  
Dienst, Mercklein, Vogel et Stellwag, Zinck, Scheller Idolu  
Mercklein cum Weyknecht, Neuber, Egoque simul.<sup>57a.</sup>

Pastorius' honors followed in quick succession from "Consulent" and membership in the "Aeusserer Rath" to "Aelterer Bürgermeister" and "Oberrichter," as the following calendar drawn from the records of Windsheim will show:

1659, August 1, took oath of citizenship as "Consulent."

1661, September 30, elected member of the "Aeusserer Rath."

1670, September 27, elected Elder Burgomaster.<sup>58</sup>

1670, September 29, made Auditor of Church Accounts and Landassessor.<sup>59</sup>

1671, October 17, made "Wassergraf."<sup>60</sup>

1681, made Director of the Hospital.

1692, September 30, elected "Statt Ober Richter." This

---

<sup>57a.</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 61a.

<sup>58</sup> The *Chronica Windsheimensis* (Bd. II. p. 133) has the following entry for September, 1670: "Dienstag den 27 ist. Herr Melchior Adam Pastorius J. U. D. zum älttern Bürgermeister erwehlet worden."

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis* (II. 138), Sept. 29, 1670: "Den 29 sind Herr Sigmund Nagel und Herr Otto Kunz Feuerstatt, wie auch der letztere Baubesichtiger und nebst Herrn Johann Georg Müller Caspar Mercklein, Siebner Herr Georg Müller Würzschauer und Herr Bürgermeister Pastorius Gotteshaus Rechnungs-abhörer und Landsteuerer."

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis* (II. 163), October, 1671: "Herr Bürgermeister Pastorius und Herr Andreas Strampfer Wassergrafen,"



election was confirmed by the Emperor, <sup>60a</sup>. with the award of the usual diploma, May 18, 1693.<sup>60b</sup>. The oath of office, recorded in the Kreis-Archiv in Nürnberg, with Pastorius' seal affixed, runs as follows:

Ich Melchior Adam Pastorius J. C. dess Innern Raths und älterer Burgemeister allhier in des heyl. Reichs Statt Windsheim thue kunth mitt disem Brieff allen denen die ihn sehen, lesen oder hören, Als mir das Ober Richter Ampt zu jetzt bemelten Windsheimb, (:darzue ich durch die wohl Edle Veste fürsichtige und hochweise herren Burgemeister und Rath diser Statt Windsheimb erkieset und erwöhlet, :) verlihen, vnd fürter durch den Allerdurchleuchtigsten Grosmächtigsten und vnüberwindlichsten Fürsten und herrn herrn Leopoldum dieses Nahmens den Ersten Römischen Kayser zu allen Zeitten Mehrern des Reichs x x Meinen allergnädigsten herren allergnädigst zuegesagt und verwilligt ist. Bekenne in krafft dises Brieffs das ich mich gegen denen herren Burgemeistern, Rath und Gemeiner Statt Windsheim der hernach beschribenen Stück und Articul Verpflichtet, Verbunden und Verschriben habe, Verpflichtete, Verbinde, und Verschreibe mich also in krafft dieses Brieffs, das ich mehrgenanter Statt Windsheimb dero angehörigen Leuten und Güthern getrewlich Vorstehen will, mitt gutem, Trewen und besten Vermögen Ihren frommen zu werben und ihren Schaden zu warnen, auch alle gute Recht und gewohnheiten derselben ihrer Statt helffen zu halten, zu mehren und nicht zu mindern in keine Weis, vnd insonderheit meines Vermögens daran und darob sein das alle Freyheiten und Begnadungen Gemeiner Statt von Römischen Kaysern und Königen gegeben, gehalten, und darwider nicht gehandelt, Auch Einem ieden Arm: und Reich gebührendes Rechtens gestatt: und mittgetheilet werde. Vnd ob sich künfftig Verfügte, das ich uor mehrwohlgedachten herren Burgemeister und Rath zu ihrer gelegenheit Von demselben Ampt entsetzt würde

---

<sup>60a</sup>. *Chronica Windsheimensis* (II. 571), Dec., 1692. "Dienstags den 29 ist Herr brgstr Pastorius zu einem Ober Richter eligiret, und den 18 Maij. 1693. von Ihro Kayln. Majeste confirmiret worden. Die Confirmation hat 47 fl. 30 kr. gekostet. Quo facto ist den 14ten 7br. 1693. Er Pastorius, bey ganzem Rath altem Herkommen nach, unter hand gegebener Treu Herrn bgrstr Karneffern an Aydesstatt bestättiget und an die Function eingesetzt worden."

<sup>60b</sup>. Cf. *Liber Intimissimus*.

(:welches Sye dann ieder Zeit zu thun, auch mich zu entsetzen, und Einen andern an meine Statt nach ihrem wohlgefallen und nach ausweis ihrer Priuilegien ihnen darüber gegeben, zu erwählen und auff zunehmen macht haben das ich ohne irrung und Eintrag Mein: und männiglichs von meinetwegen, dessen gewärttig sein, mich auch mit Keinem Behelff noch Auszug wie mann die erdencken und fürnehmen möcht, darwider nicht suchen. Auch Einen Wohl Edlen Rath an Ihren Rathshandlungen, Ordnungen, Wahl und in andere Weg keinen Eintrag widersprechen oder hindernuss nicht thun, sondern mich allein dess halten soll und will, was mir in Krafft meines Ober Richter Ampts zu thun, und auszurichten gebührt, getrewlich und ohne alles gefährde.

Vnd das Jch obgenanter Melchior Adam Pastorius Alles was hierinnen geschriben, Vnd Eines wohledlen Raths habende Freyheiten einuerleibt, steth, Vest, und Vnuerbrüchlich halten soll und will, habe ich offtermelten Burgmeister und Rath zu Windsheim mitt hand gebenden Trewen gelobt, Auch zu wahrer Vrkunth disen Reuers mitt eigenen handen Vnterscriben, und mein gewöhnlich eigen Insiegel hier Vorgedruckt.

So geben und geschehen Donnerstags den 15. September Jm Jahr nach Christi Vnsers Erlösers und Seligmachers Geburth 1693.  
L. S. Melchior Adam Pastorius J. C.

#### Revers

Burgemeister Ober Richters  
Melchioris Adami Pastorij.,

All efforts to locate the house in which Pastorius lived in Windsheim proved fruitless. It is said that the house stood near the city wall, which has been torn down. The following references were found to property held or used by him. The first is from January of the year 1680, stating that two vacant places alongside the armory, where formerly the dwellings of Barthol Diepolt and Melchior Schwartz stood, were turned over to Burgomaster Pastorius for his use under certain conditions.<sup>61</sup> The

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis* (II. 427), January, 1680: "Den 9. sind Herrn Brgstr Pastorio, nach einem ausgefertigten Versicherungs Schein, D 2: Oeden Hausplätz, neben dem Zeughaus, worauf ehedessen Barthol Diepolts und Melchior Schwartzens Behausungen gestanden, auf gewisse Condition zu usurpiren, und Dasz Ihnen ein Dill Darumb zu machen erlaubt seyn solle, überlassen werden."

second is from November, 1695, stating that this ground is ceded to Pastorius with the understanding that he build a small house on it.<sup>62</sup>

The last years of Melchior Adam Pastorius in Windsheim were fraught with domestic troubles, which finally led to official friction and forced him to change his residence.

The account given in the *Chronica Windsheimensis*<sup>63</sup> allows us to read much between the lines. In the first place we see evidence of local, social and religious cabal. The first mistake was made by his wife Dorothea Esther (Volckmann) when she circulated pasquills and induced her husband to interfere in the religious affairs of Windsheim, for which he paid severe and humiliating penalty. The social-religious strife naturally passed over into city politics, and Pastorius, now advanced beyond his three score years and ten, was unable to make aggressive defense. It is in a word another illustration of the danger of female squabbles and corroborates the adage "Cherchez la femme."

The result of this unpleasantness and humiliation was that Pastorius squared his account with a 1000 Reichsthaler and moved away from Windsheim, going first to Neustadt (on-the-Aisch) and thence to Nürnberg. Here he took up his residence in a small villa outside of the city wall, in front of the New Gate,

---

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis* (II. 616), November, 1695: "Den 1. sind Herrn Ober-Richtern Pastorio die biszhero von Ihm usufructuarie in Besitz gehabte öde Hofraith beym Zeughaus, gegen die offerierte aufbauung eines Häusleins, aigenthümlich cediret worden."

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis*, October 1-28, 1696.

Christian Wilhelm Schirmer in his *Geschichte Windsheims und seiner Nachbarorte* (Nürnberg, Riege in Wiessne (1848) says simply that Pastorius moved to Nürnberg "wegen Verdriesslichkeiten mit dem hiesigen Rath." Schirmer's statement that Pastorius first met his wife, Eva Margaretha Gelchsheimer, at her father's funeral is incorrect. Dr. Gelchsheimer died May 3, 1659, nearly a year after Margaretha married Pastorius (Feb. 9, 1658).

EPITAPH OF MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS.





belonging to the Marquis of Brandenburg.<sup>64</sup> His two daughters<sup>65</sup> married and lived in Nürnberg during the last four years of his life. Pastorius died in this villa, February 4, 1702, at the ripe age of 77 years. He lies buried in the old St. Johannes Kirchhof, in Nürnberg, between the chapel and the nearest gate, in a place described locally as "Ta man predigt" (Wo man predigt, *i. e.*, where the funeral sermon is preached). The grave is marked by a thick sand stone slab, upon which the following epitaph is to be found enclosed in an oval in the old style of the Nürnberg patri-cians:

"Der Wohl Edle Vest und Hochgelährte Herr Melchior Adam Pastorius ICTus, Wie auch Hoch Fürstl: Brandenburg-Bayreuthischer Rath ist seelig in den Herrn entschlafen Ao 1702. den 4 Februarij seines Alt: 77 Jahr u. 19. Woche."<sup>66</sup>

The career of Melchior Adam Pastorius is remarkable, not only for the fifty years of long service in the practice of his profession in Sommerhausen and Windsheim, but it is significant, because of his literary activity as a writer of prose and verse. His verse reflects, in a most interesting manner, the literary traditions of the first Silesian School of Poets, and in point of smoothness compares favorably with the best poetry of Martin Opitz of Boberfeld, or Simon Dach, or Paul Flemming. In spirit he approaches most nearly the lyric tone of Flemming, while in his fondness for occasional themes he suggests Dach.

Pastorius was a very prolific writer both in Latin and in German, and left in addition to his printed works much matter in manuscript. In his *Liber Intimissimus* we find a list of some seventy books, presumably the essential part of his library.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Cf. F. D. Pastorius' Genealogical Sketch.

<sup>65</sup> Anna Catharina, who married Matthias Wehrseim, Secretary of Nürnberg, December 6, 1698, and Margaretha Barbara, who married the same day Georg Richard Hammer, J. U. D., of Nürnberg (F. D. Pastorius' Genealogical Sketch).

<sup>66</sup> Cf. accompanying illustration.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. the list at the end of the chapter.

(To be Continued.)

## SOME UNPUBLISHED LONGFELLOW LETTERS.<sup>1</sup>

No other American poet, perhaps, has ever had a knowledge of so many living languages as Longfellow, and certainly few have been personally acquainted with so many prominent men of their time as he. Longfellow knew personally a great number of the eminent men in England, Germany, Italy, France, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark. He was on very friendly terms with the poet Freiligrath,<sup>2</sup> and corresponded with Rafn, Carlyle, Dickens, Victor Hugo, and a host of other scientific and literary men in almost every country of Europe. His four visits to that continent made this wide acquaintance possible. Especially on his last visit to the Old World he was received with marked attention and his acquaintance was eagerly sought.<sup>3</sup> He kept up an extensive correspondence, and his letters are therefore numerous and scattered over a wide territory. A large number have already been collected and published. Together with his journals they form a very complete story of the poet's life, and the lives of few literary men are so well known as that

---

<sup>1</sup>The following introduction and notes are based on a paper on "The Relation of Longfellow to the Scandinavian Literatures", soon to be published in full; read at a special Longfellow programme before the Germanic Association of the University of Pennsylvania. A short abstract is published in "Valkyrian" (New York), for May. Among men in this country who have given me suggestions in my study of this question, I take pleasure in mentioning in this preliminary note, Prof. M. D. Learned, Prof. C. G. Child, my friend and former teacher, Prof. A. J. Pearson, of St. Peter, Minn., Rev. E. A. Zetterstrand, of Naugatuck, Conn., and G. N. Swan.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. D. Learned's article on "*Ferdinand Freiligrath in America*" in "*Americana Germanica*," I, p. 69 (Old S.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Life of Longfellow with Extracts fr. his Journals*. Ed. by S. Longfellow (Boston, 1893), III, 110 ff. also "Auld Lang Syne", by M. Müller, p. 181.

of Longfellow. But there are still more letters to be published, and there are yet a few things to be said about our author.

The time is passed when the college boy will 'sit at the open window every New Year's Eve and read aloud Longfellow's 'Midnight Mass for the Dying Year,'"<sup>4</sup> and his direct influence on the literature of our time is practically *nil*. And, although he has lately been called our "Poet Laureate," and is said to be the best known of our American writers, we cannot escape the fact that the great bulk of his works is not read by the present generation, and except for a few popular poems, which undoubtedly are as immortal as any work of man can ever be, he is rapidly passing over to that group of worthies who are more talked about than read.

The position of Longfellow, however, as one of the most important forces in the formative period of our literature and culture is secure, and he deserves, I think, to stand at the head of the eight or nine greatest men of letters of his time and country, not alone, and not principally even, for the permanent contribution he has made to the literature of the world or of his nation, but for the lasting influence for good he has had on our civilization and culture.<sup>5</sup>

Longfellow has been accused of plagiarism. But whenever he has had a model, his poem bears somewhat the same relation to this model as the Aeneid does to the works of Homer, or Milton's works to his models and predecessors. It is just as impossible to think of Longfellow without Rückert and Goethe and Novalis and Brentano and the rest of them as it is to think of Shakespeare without Marlowe and Green and Lyly and the other predecessors. Longfellow takes from others, but the material is always passed through the furnace of his own soul

---

<sup>4</sup> "*Cheerful Yesterdays*", by T. W. Higginson, p. 67. Higginson has incorrectly "Midnight Mass to the Dying Year."

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Walt Whitman's remark about Longfellow in "*Walt Whitman*", by Bliss Perry, p. 334 (Boston, 1906).



and moulded into his own form. He absorbed the culture of many nations and gave it through the medium of his poetry to the American people. He thereby performed one of his greatest services to our literature and made one of his most lasting contributions to our thought and civilization. Anything that helps to throw light on his relation to foreign poets and their works is also an aid in determining the direct and indirect source of many of his poems, and explaining many of those trends and currents that were and are directing and moulding forces in our national life and literature. The letters that are here printed (all for the first time in an English journal, so far as I know),<sup>6</sup> are of some value, I think, at least of interest, as contributing to the knowledge of Longfellow's relation to foreign authors and their works.

When Longfellow sailed for Europe, May 15th, 1826, his intention was to study the languages and literatures of France, Spain, Italy, and Germany. On June 15th he landed in France. From here he went to Spain, and on the 11th of February, 1828, he "entered Rome under the bright rays of a noonday sun."<sup>7</sup> At Rome he found a friend, Mr. Greene, living with the Persians, and writes that he went into the same family.<sup>8</sup> At this time a young Swedish poet, Karl August Nicander,<sup>9</sup> was sojourning in Rome. Nicander had been in Rome for some time when Longfellow arrived there, and was a special friend of the Persiani family and a constant visitor in their hospitable

---

<sup>6</sup> Three of them were exploited in "Prärieblomman" for 1906, as was pointed out to me by the Librarian Lundstedt, of the Royal Library, Stockholm.

<sup>7</sup> *Life*, I, p. 142.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p. 143.

<sup>9</sup> Born at Strängnäs, 1799, died at Stockholm, 1839. His most popular works are "*Runesvärdet*", "*Hesperider*", "*Tassos död*", "*Vagen*", "*Runor of Norna-Gest*". He was a poet of great talent and has produced some of the finest sonnets and ballads in the Swedish language. Extracts from them have been translated into English.

home.<sup>10</sup> It is therefore likely that Longfellow made his acquaintance very soon after the 11th of February, perhaps on the evening of the 11th, and not as Samuel Longfellow has it some two months later during a visit to Naples.<sup>11</sup> At any rate the two poets were acquainted on the 2d of March, and were almost daily companions in viewing the parades and buffooneries of the carnival at Rome in the spring of 1828.<sup>12</sup> In April Longfellow made a trip to Naples and on his return to Rome in June, it seems that Nicander set out on the same journey. Longfellow was dangerously ill when Nicander returned to Rome, and as soon as he was strong enough, he removed to the village of Ariccia, where he passed a month "in the wedge-shaped Casa Antonini at the junction of the streets."<sup>13</sup> In the fall he returned to Rome and the associations of the two poets were renewed. On December 9th, 1828, Longfellow left Rome and his friends there, and after a short sojourn in Germany he returned to America. Nicander left Rome about the middle of March the following year and returned to his home in the North.

In 1835 Longfellow made his second visit to Europe. His special object was to study the Scandinavian and German languages. On June 28th he arrived at the Swedish capital. A few days later his wife writes: "He [Longfellow] had anticipated great pleasure in meeting here a friend, a Swedish poet, whom he became acquainted with in Rome. He left town a week before we arrived. It was a sad disappointment."<sup>14</sup> This Swedish poet was, of course, Nicander. Nicander, as I take it, was now living with his mother and sister in Nyköping, and after a short stay there he went to live with his friend

<sup>10</sup> See "*Sve. Aka. Hand. fran 1886*", page 168.

<sup>11</sup> See *Life*, I, 147. On page 211 there is of course a misprint: "Nicander he had met in Italy in 1829." The year was 1828.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Life*, I, 143, 150 and "*Sve. Aka. Handl. fran 1886*", 169.

<sup>13</sup> See *Life*, I, 149.

<sup>14</sup> See *Letters of Mrs. Longfellow, Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 106, p. 785.

and patron, Baron Hamilton, at Boo.<sup>15</sup> He did not return to Stockholm before the following year, and the two poets never met after their parting in Italy.

In Sweden Longfellow became acquainted with the Librarian Schröder and a number of other prominent men. August 26th he left Stockholm for Gothenborg, where he remained ten days, and on September 10th he arrived at Copenhagen. Here he was also well received and on the nomination of Prof. Rafn was made a member of the "Kongl. Nordiske Oldkriftselskab."<sup>16</sup>

Longfellow missed the opportunity of meeting Tegnér, the Scandanavian poet whom he most admired and whose works had great influence on his own poetry. In 1837 Longfellow translated parts of "Frithiof's Saga," and wrote an analysis and paraphrase of the famous poem for the July number of the *North American Review*. February 28th, 1838, Longfellow sent a copy of the magazine to Bishop Tegnér and wrote the letter printed here. In 1841 Tegnér answered this letter and spoke very favorably of the translated fragments. He says: "The only thing I have against the translation is that it is not complete, and it is to this [purpose] I take the liberty to urge the Professor, so that I can say that 'Frithiof' is well translated into one language at least".

---

<sup>15</sup> Longfellow's remark "I should certainly go to Nyköping to see you" seems to me to indicate that Nicander now (June 29, 1835, see letter) was living at Nyköping and not at Boo, as it is sometimes stated. In the same letter of June 29th, Longfellow writes: "Will you have the goodness to inform me where you intend to pass the summer?" In answer to this Nicander most likely informed him that he would soon go to Boo to live, for on July 10th Longfellow writes: "How long do you intend to remain at Boo?", and "will it not be possible for us to be together after your return from the Hamiltonia villeggiatura?" Since the above was written Rev. Zetterstrand, of Naugatuck, Connecticut, one of the best informed scholars in this country in Swedish literature, writes me that he is of the opinion that Nicander at this time lived at Boo.

<sup>16</sup> The present secretary of the Society, Dr. Sophus Müller, writes me "at han [Longfellow] förste Gang nämnes i Medlemslisten för 1836".

*Letters addressed to Karl August Nicander.*

(Originals are now preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm, Sweden, among "Letters to and from Karl August Nicander.")<sup>17</sup>

ROME, June 10, 1828.

MY DEAR FRIEND.

I received with the greatest pleasure yours of the 6th, inclosing a letter of introduction to a friend of yours in Bonn, for which I beg you to receive my warmest thanks. I am very well pleased to hear, that you are diverting yourself at Naples, and hope that you will be as much delighted with Baie and Puzzol-Vesuvius, and the Tomb of Virgil, as I was. Indeed I hardly know a spot of more interest to the poet, than Naples and its environs. It is a scene that the Poets of other days loved to consecrate by filling it with the beings of their own imagination:—and *One* of them—perhaps the sweetest of all—sleeps amid the scenes he loved in life, and hallows in death.<sup>18</sup>

In return for the good news you send us of yourself and your doings, I am very happy to inform you, that Madam Julia has almost entirely recovered from the wound in her foot, and walks about as merrily as ever. This is the most important information, that I can send you from Rome—and I think with all your friendship for Julia, you could not desire better news than this.<sup>19</sup>

I assure you—my dear friend—that the "voce secreta" which whispered you that we should meet again, told you no false tale. If you return from Naples as soon as you intended, when you left us—we shall meet once more in the "Eternal City,"—because I have concluded to remain here until the second week in July.<sup>20</sup>

Good bye. Amuse yourself well, and return soon. Julia—Madame Persiani—and all the family send their best regards to you, and wish you all the amusement, which can possibly be drawn from

---

<sup>17</sup> I am under special obligation to Dr. Karlsson, of the Royal Library, and Mr. Stroh, of the University of Pennsylvania, now studying in Sweden, for valuable aid rendered both during my stay at Stockholm, and afterwards.

<sup>18</sup> Nicander's feelings for Julia seem to have been of more than a friendly nature. Several expressions in his prose and poetry, as pointed out by Dr. Wirsén, seem to show that the young poet was deeply in love with the beautiful Italian girl.

<sup>20</sup> This lingering in Rome became very disastrous to the poet. Cf. *Life*, I, 149 ff.

the scenes around you. For my own part, I send you my best wishes and a warm return for the friendly sentiments you expressed for me in your letter. In the hope of hearing from you again—of soon seeing you in Rome,—I am, affectionately and respectfully

yours,

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.<sup>21</sup>

STOCKHOLM, June 29, 1835.

MY DEAR SIR:

I trust you have not forgotten Rome—the Piazza Madama—and your American friend who lived in the *casa Persiani*. If you have not, I know, that you will not be sorry to hear, that he is now in your father-land.

In fact, I have come to Sweden to pass the summer; and reached Stockholm yesterday. I can hardly express to you my extreme regret, at finding you absent from town; and had I not a wife and two young ladies with me,<sup>22</sup> I should certainly go to Nyköping to see you.<sup>23</sup>

My object, in visiting Sweden, is to study its language and literature. I need your advice upon this subject; for in choosing my place of residence, I wish to study economy as well as convenience. Had I better remain here or go to Upsala? or whither shall I go?

Will you have the goodness to inform me where you intend to pass the summer, and when you shall probably return to Stockholm, and to give me any information you think may be useful in reference to lodgings &c &c here in Sweden?

I write these few lines in haste, not knowing whether they will even reach you, and yet hoping to hear from you before many days have elapsed.

Very truly your friend and Obt. Sert.

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

Please direct to the care of D. Erskine, American Consul, Stockholm.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The letter is written on three pages (4°), on the fourth is the address: A Monsieur Monsieur Charles A. Nicander. Naples, Poste Restante.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Mrs. Longfellow's letters published in *Harper's Magazine*.

<sup>23</sup> Nyköping, where Nicander was staying at the time as it seems, is a small manufacturing town south (a little to west) of Stockholm, situated on the coast. See "*Sweden*", by Sundbärg (Stockh., 1904), p. 94, 772, 943.

<sup>24</sup> The letter is written on two pages (4°), on fourth page is the address as follows:

à Monsieur Monsieur Carl Aug. Nicander, Nyköping.

STOCKHOLM, July 10, 1835.

MIN KÄRE VÄN!<sup>25</sup>

I was very happy to receive your friendly letter of the 6th and should have sent you an immediate answer by the return of post, had I been able to get the necessary information, relative to the facilities of going to Nyköping by water. I am sorry to say, that the answer to my inquiries is not very satisfactory. I find that the steam-boat goes but once a week, and that in order to accomplish the journey and return to Stockholm, I should have to be absent a whole week or more, from my family.<sup>26</sup> Much as I want to see you, therefore, I have been obliged to give up the idea of going to Nyköping. How much I regret this!— The difficulty is, that the "wife and two young ladies" do not speak Swedish, and very little French—so that I could not leave them here in a strange land without a protector. Now, can you not so arrange your affairs as to come to Stockholm for a few days without great inconvenience to yourself? If you *can*—I shall be delighted:—but if you *cannot*—I must submit to the disappointment I shall feel; though a "still, small voice" within says, that I shall certainly see you before I leave Sweden.

*Apropos de bottes!* How long do you intend to remain at *Bdo*? I shall be here and in Upsala till the middle of September—unless something new occurs to change my plans. I am much pleased with "Sveriges hufvudstad den stora staden Stockholm" and have lodgings at No. 22 Drottninggatan.<sup>27</sup> Will it not be possible for us to be together after your return from the Hamiltonian villeggiatura?

And now I will satisfy your curiosity about the *mysterious* ladies. *Whose* wife do you please to imagine I am living with, if not with *my own*? I have been married now nearly four years, but have no children *living*. The two young ladies are friends of my wife, who have taken this opportunity to visit Europe. Our present plan is to pass the summer here—the winter in Germany, and the next summer in Copenhagen.<sup>28</sup> The object of this my second visit to Europe is wholly literary. I am studying the Scandinavian languages and literature; as I occupy at home the Chair of Modern

---

<sup>25</sup> My Dear Friend.

<sup>26</sup> His wife and two of her friends were along. Cf. *Life*, I, 207.

<sup>27</sup> About August 1st he moved to Klara Södra Kyrkogatan No. 5, and this house is still standing. House No. 22 on Drottninggatan was torn down in 1890 and a new, beautiful one erected on the site.

<sup>28</sup> These plans were not carried out. Cf. *Life*, I, 234 ff. Higginson's "*Life of Longfellow*", p. 92 ff.

Literature and Belles Lettres in one of the Universities:—which by the way, has been the case ever since I left you in Rome.<sup>29</sup>

So much for me and my doings. And I know likewise what you have been doing; for I have now upon my table your “Hesperider,” “Minnen från Södern” and “Runesvärdet.” I congratulate you, my friend, on your great literary success; and the praises I hear of you from all mouths. I would fain add my own to these; but alas! I am not yet sufficiently master of your language, to render my opinion of any value. I can only say, that I have read several of your papers with the greatest pleasure.

I trust, that if it is impossible for you to come to Stockholm at present, I shall have the consolation of hearing from you often. I hoped that I should find you passing the summer in Stockholm; but as this cannot be, let me know, where you are, and how you are passing your time; as much in detail as possible.

I have some friends here, who are very kind and attentive,—particularly the Antiquarian, Mr. Liljögren.<sup>30</sup> I know also Mr. Arvidsson of the Royal Library<sup>31</sup>—and one or two of the Upsala Professors. Old Mr. Lignell is my instructor in Swedish.<sup>32</sup>

Where the deuce is *Boo*?<sup>33</sup> I cannot find it on the map—nor the province of Nerike<sup>34</sup> either. Please enlighten my darkness.

Most truly yr. friend

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

<sup>29</sup> Statement of course slightly inaccurate. Cf. *Life*, I, 234 ff.

<sup>30</sup> John Gustaf Liljögren (1789-1837). See “*Nordisk Familjebok*” IX, 291; “*Svenskt Biog. Handlexicon*” (Stockh., 1876), I, 588.

<sup>31</sup> Adolf Ivar Arvidson. A writer of great productivity. See “*Sv. Biog. Handlexicon*”, I, 54; “*Nordisk Familjebok*” (2d. ed.), II, 122; “*Biog. Lexicon*”, I, 261; “*Adolf Ivar Arvidson som vittor författare*.”

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *Life*, I, p. 210.

<sup>33</sup> *Boo* (sometimes “*Bo*”), is the name of a great many places in Sweden. Twenty-six (26) are given in the “*Geografiskt-Statistiskt Handlexicon öfver Sverige*” (by C. M. Rosenberg), I, 143-43. *Bo* comes from the old Swedish word *bol*, meaning dwelling, etc. As a rule in modern Swedish it means to reside, to live, etc. As a noun it has several meanings as abode, goods, etc. In law it refers to chattel, inheritance, etc. See “*Svensk Civelrätt*” (by Winrot), II, 59 ff.

The *Book Longfellow* refers to is a “*fideikommiss*” in Oerbero län. In 1903 it was taxed for the sum of 1,712,700 kr. It is located in a most beautiful and picturesque region (See “*Handlexicon*”, I, 144). Nicander spent over a year at *Boo* with his friend, H. Hamilton, the owner of the estate. During this time he wrote part of his “*Minnen från Södern*”. The present owner of *Boo*, if my source is correct, is H. D. Hamilton.

<sup>34</sup> Nerike is one of the old historical provinces of Sweden (Cf.

*Letter addressed to Esaias Tegnér.*

(Original, preserved at the University Library of Lund, Sweden.)<sup>35</sup>

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE,  
U. S. AMERICA, Feb. 21, 1838.

REVEREND SIR:<sup>36</sup>

The greatest regret I felt on leaving your country, which I visited in the year 1835, was, that I had found no opportunity of making your acquaintance. Your writings were among the first I read in Swedish; and I hardly need say, are those which most delight me.

I herewith send you a No. of our principal Literary Review.<sup>37</sup> You will find in it an attempt to convey to my countrymen some idea of your great poem, "Frithiofs Saga;" at best a feeble idea, and yet, perhaps, better than could have been obtained by them otherwise: for the Swedish Language is almost wholly unknown here, and the only English Translation of "Frithiof," which has reached this country is the Anonymous one, which is worthy of no praise, and which, as you will see, I have not hesitated to condemn.<sup>38</sup>

I am sorry, that my own task has not been executed more worthily. But such as it is, I take the liberty of sending it to you; that you may know your fame has reached our distant land: and

---

"Sweden", by Sundbärg, Stockholm, 1904, p. 3-4), and is not indicated on all maps. Its area is 4,347 sq. k. and its population in 1900 was 120,000. See "Sweden", p. 3. It practically corresponds to Oerbero län. See "Sweden", p. 94. The province is no longer of importance from an administrative point of view, and its place is taken by the "län", hence most maps indicate only the "län".

<sup>35</sup> Copy made for me through the courtesy of Dr. C. of Petersens, the Librarian, during my stay at Lund, in the fall of 1906.

<sup>36</sup> E. Tegnér, perhaps the most famous poet of Sweden, and one of the greatest poets of the Scandinavian North. Born 1782. Professor in Lund, 1812. Bishop in Växjö, 1824. Died 1846. His best known works are "Frithiof's Saga", "Nattvardsbarnen" (Transl. by Longfellow. See Works VI, p. 232 ff), "Fridsröster", "Axel", "Svea", and some minor poems. He was also a great speaker and his orations belong to the very best produced in Scandinavia. For biography see "Esaias Tegnér", by Nils Erdmann, Stockholm, 1896, "Esaias Tegners Samlade Skrifter" (Stockholm, 1893), *Lefnadsteckning of C. W. Böttiger*. (Also found in German translation.)

See also Longfellow's Works (Boston, 1886), VI, p. 315.

<sup>37</sup> "North American Review."

<sup>38</sup> "North American Review", July, 1837, p. 159.



that in New England, a country much resembling yours,<sup>39</sup> your high song has found an echo.

Wishing you many years of happiness and God's peace, I have the honor to be

Very sincerely your friend,

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

*Letter addressed to Professor and Librarian J. H. Schröder,  
Uppsala, Sweden.*

(Original, preserved at University Library in "Letters to the Librarian Schröder.")<sup>40</sup>

MONSIEUR.<sup>41</sup>

Ayant eu occasion d'examiner les "Scriptores Rerum Svec. Medii Aevi,"<sup>42</sup> j'ai trouvé une feuille, tellement déchirée, que je ne saurai m'en servir. La moitié de cette feuille manque dans tous les deux exemplaires. C'est la première page d'un des cahiers; et commence ainsi :

"I.

Ex Langfedgatal

ab Odino ad Olavum Trätälja.<sup>43</sup>

Ex Codice Donationis Magnæanæ, No. 415, in Bibliotheca, &c &c"

C'est curieux, que dans les deux exemplaires, la même feuille soit ainsi déchirée au beau milieu de la page. Veuillez bien m'envoyer, par quelque bonne occasion, deux copies de cette feuille—une pour chaque exemplaire du livre.

Agréé, je vous prie, les sentimens de considération avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être

Votre très humble Serviteur,

H. W. LONGFELLOW,

Clara Södra Kyrkogatan No. 5  
Stockholm, ce 7. Aout 1835.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *Works VI*, 318.

<sup>40</sup> I am indebted to Dr. A. Anderson, the present librarian, for a copy of the letter.

<sup>41</sup> J. H. Schröder, professor and librarian at Uppsala. Editor and author of a great number of works. See "*Brit. M. Catalogue of P. B.*"

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Sveriges Historia från äldsta tid till våra dagar* (Minneapolis, 1900), I. Bibliography, II, 69, 207.

<sup>43</sup> It seems that Longfellow was reading this work at the time as well as "*Gamla Rimkrönikan*" cf. "*North American Review*" XLX, p. 152.

*Letter addressed to Messrs. Richard Griffin & Co., Publishers,  
Ave Maria Lane, London E. C.*

(Original in British Museum.)<sup>44</sup>

CAMBRIDGE, March 26, 1860.

GENTLEMEN.

I am much obliged to you for sending, me the enclosed for revision; and hope you will pardon me for not returning it sooner.<sup>45</sup>

I decidedly prefer the original form of the notice; though if you see fit you may add the following list of my books.<sup>46</sup>

I remain, Gentlemen,

Yours truly,

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

*Letter addressed to Charles Babbage.*<sup>47</sup>

(Original in British museum.)

BOUCHURCH, July 20, 1868.

MY DEAR SIR:

Just as I was leaving London, I had the pleasure of receiving your valuable volume, and was so hurried that I had no time to thank you for the gift and the kind remembrance which prompted it. Allow me to make good the omission and assure you of the interest and sympathy with which I shall read the work, as soon as I can find a leisure hour to devote to it.

---

For an account of this period of Swedish history see "*Sveriges Historia*" of Montelius m.f., I.; "*Svenska folkets historia of E. G. Geejer*" I.

<sup>44</sup> For a copy of these and the following letters from the British Museum I am indebted to Dr. J. A. Herbert, of the Department of Manuscripts.

<sup>45</sup> With the letter a clipping is preserved of the biographical note referred to.

<sup>46</sup> At the end of the letter follows a list of his most important works between the years 1833 and 1858.

<sup>47</sup> Charles Babbage (1799-1871), the distinguished English mathematician and mechanic. The work referred to in the letter is most likely "*Passages from the Life of a Philosopher*", London, 1864, as it is almost the only one of his many books that would be likely to interest Longfellow. Longfellow seems to have met Babbage for the first time on his second visit to Europe in 1835. Cf. *Life* I, 208.

Meanwhile I beg you to accept my most cordial thanks, and my regrets, that I should have been forced to leave London without seeing you.

I remain, my Dear Sir,  
with great regard, yours truly  
HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

*Letter addressed to Hiram Corson.*<sup>48</sup>

(Original in British Museum.)

CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 1. 1864.

DEAR SIR,

I have this morning had the pleasure of receiving the copy of your new and very neat edition of Chaucer's "Legende of Good Women," which you were so kind as to send me and for which I beg you to accept my best acknowledgments.

With good wishes for the success of this good undertaking, I remain,

Yours truly,  
HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

*Letters Preserved at the Royal Library, Berlin.*<sup>49</sup>

I.

With many thanks for your many kindnesses, and this last in particular, I send you, my dear Sir, this amount of your bill and of M. Falckenberg's.

Farewell and God bless you.

Very truly yours,  
HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

P. S. Please send the music and Michel Angelo's Sonnets to Freiligrath at St. Goar; & I shall receive them on returning down

<sup>48</sup> The letter is without an address. But as I can find only one edition of the "Legende of Good Women" (See *Index to the English Catalogue of Books*, London, 1876, II, 190), about that time, and that is edited by Hiram Corson, it seems probable that the letter was addressed to him. But the difficulty is to explain how it came into the possession of the British Museum. There seems to be no copy of the book in the British Museum. There is a copy in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>49</sup> In the library is also preserved in Longfellow's handwriting a copy of the two stanzas next to the last from the "Psalm of Life" beginning "Lives of Great Men all remind us" and signed, Henry W. Longfellow.

the Rhein at the end of next week. Freiligrath will pay for the Sonnets, which are not in y[ou]r bill.

Your account .....	36. 24
Falckenberg's do .....	6. 12
	<hr/>
	43. 06

On receiving this please, write a note informing me of the same, address Freiligrath, St. Goar.<sup>50</sup>

II.

MY DEAR SIR,

This will be handed you by Mr. Welch of Boston, who will pass a week or two in Berlin, and is desirous of making your acquaintance. As Mr. Welch is a scholar, and visits Germany for the purpose of studying its language and literature, you will have at least one bond of sympathy, and should you have it in your power to further his views in any way, I shall feel much obliged to you for it.

Yours very truly,

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW, Cambridge, April 14, 1841.

P. S. A week or two ago I sent by way of London (or rather Sumner did for me) a small package for you. I hope it reached you safely.

---

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Life* I, 426, 430, 434 ff. for Longfellow's stay in Germany in 1842 and his relation to Freiligrath. See M. D. Learned in "*Am. Germ.*" Olds, I, p. 69 ff.

## Appendix.

## I.

LETTER FROM NICANDER ADDRESSED TO  
LONGFELLOW.<sup>1</sup>

ÖREBRO OCH BOO, den 16 Aug., 1835.

Gode Vän :

Då jag nu för första gången helsar min Americanske broder, på mitt eget modersmål, så torde han benäget ursäkta, att jag begagnar ett gammalt, godt, och Svenskt ord, som heter *Du*. Utan denna benämning, ömsesidigt använd, kan emellan vänner i Sverige ingen rätt fötrolig brefväxling äga rum.

Dina båda senaste bref, för hvilka jag innerlingen tackar, erhöj jag på en gång för några dagar sedan. De hafva länge legat i Nyköping hvarifrån jag, vid deras ankomst, redan var afrest.

Hur, i all världen, shall jag få se dig, och språka några vänliga ord? War god och med möjligaste första säg mig, *hura länge* du ämnar uppehålla Dig i Stockholm, *när* Du reser därifrån och *hvar* Du då begifver Dig. Jag vill sedan uttänka ett nedel att träffa dig på vägen, i händelse det skulle falla sig obeqvämt för Dig och dina Damer, att besöka Boo. Säg mig ock, huru det gamla Upsala behagat Dig. Der har jag tillbringat en stor del of min ungdom, och i dess ärevördiga Domkyrkan emottagit en lagerkrans som redan är vissnad. Men sångens källa, den silfverklara Castalia, är dock icke uttorkad ännu. Jag lefver of dess floder och of mina skåna *Minnen*. Gerna ville jag att du skulle se mig här ; att Du kunde sitta, vid min sida, i sångens tempel på den lilla underbora ön, der jag är omgifven af blommor och fågelqwitter ock omfamnad of flodens spegelklara armar.

“Dear Nature is the kindest mother still,” säger Lord Byron. Jag älsker naturen och allt som naturligt är.

<sup>1</sup>Original of this and the following letter, preserved in the Longfellow Collection at the *Craigie House*, Cambridge.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Miss Alice M. Longfellow for privileges granted and for her courtesies in answering questions, etc. Thanks are also due my friend, Mr. C. R. Magney, of the Harvard Law School, for making careful copies of these two letters for me.

Piùza Madama —

Am 29. Oct. 1838.

Lieber Freund,

Ihr Brief, der für Jahn  
in Götta dieser morgen mir zu  
gesrieben, kam ich nicht vorfinden.

— Ci vorrà una settimana per leggerla.  
Ho capito però, "Brief für kam  
ich nicht kommen" — e quando  
ho letto tutto vi risponderò.

Per non far aspettare, quello  
che mi ha portato il vostro biglietto,  
costo cammino e mi rassegnò.

Al vostro amico et servitore —

J. Enrico W. Longfellow.

LETTER OF LONGFELLOW TO NICANDER.



Jag vill icke nu trötta Dig med för mycket Svenska. Mitt bref blir Dig kanhända en plåga i alla fall ; men Du berömde mitt modersmål i ditt sista bref och att jag älskar det är väl icke underligt.

Skrif nu ett långt bref med omgående post ! I will send you an immediate answer.

Förgät mig ej ! Om *Giulia Persiani* vet jag intet. På tvenne år har jag från henne intet bref bekommit.<sup>3</sup>

Med sannaste tilligfvenhet,

Din,

KARL AUG. NICANDER.

*Translation.*

ÖREBRO AND BOO, Aug. 16, 1835.

Dear Friend:<sup>3</sup> As I now for the first time greet my American brother in my own native tongue, he will, perhaps, kindly excuse me for using a good old Swedish word, which is called "*Du*".<sup>4</sup> Without this title, reciprocally used, no truly intimate correspondence can take place between friends in Sweden.

Both of your last two letters, for which I sincerely thank you, I received a few days ago, at the same time. They had been lying in Nyköping for some time, from which place I had already departed when they arrived.

How, in all the world, shall I get to see you, and speak a few friendly words with you? Kindly tell me at the very earliest, *how long* you intend to remain in Stockholm, *when* you depart from there and whither you then betake yourself. I will then contrive some means by which I can arrange to meet you on the way, in case it should not be convenient for you and your ladies to visit Boo. Tell me also how old Uppsala pleased you. There I spent a great part of my youth, and received in its venerable Cathedral a lauret crown, which is

---

<sup>3</sup>Nicander left Rome in the Spring of 1829, and, according to the above, the correspondence with Julia was continued until some time in 1833.

<sup>4</sup>Literally "good friend."

"Du" corresponds to the German "du," and it is used in the same manner. The English "thou," as used by the Quakers, is almost identical, although "Du" in Swedish is never used except by very familiar friends and to subordinates.



already withered. But the fountain of song, the silvery-clear Castalia, is, however, not yet dried up. I live from its streams and from my beautiful *Memories*.<sup>5</sup> I wish that you might see me here, that you could sit by my side in the temple of Song on the little wonderful island, where I am surrounded by flowers and the chirping of birds, and embraced by the crystal-clear arms of the river. "Dear Nature is the kindest mother still," says Lord Byron. I love nature and everything that is natural.

I will not now tire you with too much Swedish. My letter will, perhaps, become a burden to you anyway, but you praised my native tongue in your last letter, and that I love it is only natural.

Now, please write a long letter by return post! I will send you an immediate answer.

Forget me not! About *Julia Persiani* I know nothing. For two years I have received no letter from her.

Very sincerely yours,

KARL AUG. NICANDER.

## II.

### LETTER FROM TIGNER ADERESSED TO LONGFELLOW.<sup>6</sup>

BOKEDAL VID GÖTEBORG, d. 10 Juli, 1841.

För 3 år sedan då jag var här på Bokedal hos Wijk och hans sköna Fru, den skönaste gvinna i Sverige,<sup>7</sup> emottog jag det bref, recension och fragmentariska öfversättning of Frithiof, hvarmed Herr Professorn hedrat mig. Embetsgöromål, Riksdagen, nyligen slutad, och en svår nerfsjukdom sedermera ha dock hindrat mig att tacka, vom jag borde, för allt detta.

<sup>5</sup>Nicander was now working on "*Minnen från Södern*," vol. II ("*Memories from the South*").

<sup>6</sup>This letter is printed in "*Svea*" (Stock. 1904), p. 147, but in poor condition.

<sup>7</sup>Cp. Mrs. Longfellow's letter of Sept. 22, 1835, in Higginson's "*Life of Longfellow*," p. 101. "We had heard of her great beauty in America. I can not say that she is beautiful, but she is extremely pretty, with very interesting manners. Cp. Tegner's *Samlade Skrifter* (Stock., 1893), p. 358; 465, No. 6.

Utan att just sätta det högsta värde på publikens omdöme i eller utom mitt fädernesland, och med det Horatianska

*malignum*

*Spernere vulgus*<sup>8</sup>

till valspråk, gläder det mig [dock] naturligtvis att finna mina dikter återgifna på ett träffande sätt, i synnerhet inför en nation, som jag värderar. Det har alltid varit min öfvertygelse att Engelskan är af alla språk det som presterar<sup>9</sup> sig best till öfversättningar från Swenskan, ty Engelsmannen älskar liksom vi att concentrera uttryck, tanke eller bild, inom den möjligast korta period, och blixtra med ett kort men skarpt svärd, hvaremot Tysken föredrar de långa släpande perioderna, och gerna öfverdrar sina vapen med förmögladt svinskinsläder,<sup>10</sup> Engelskan deremot är en samling of Laconismer, och den så mycket misskände Pope, med sina blankslipade antitheser, har alltid förefallit mig som den rätte representanten of Engelska språkets genius.

Ennelltid äro<sup>11</sup> bland de fyra eller fem öfversättningar jag känner of Frithjof [och] haft tillfälle att se, ingen enda hvarmed jag varit fullt nöjd, utom Herr Professorns. När öfversättaren förstätt meningen, hvilket ej alltid inträffatt, så har dock ofta den ohjälpliga oförmågan i det tekniska [hos honom], och [hans] bristande välde öfver språket vanstält öfnersättning. Ty Engelskan är [ej] ett elastiskt språk, svårt nog att böja, om det icke skall springa sönder; så är det skedd has en Anonym [öfversättare], hos Sturm,<sup>12</sup> hos Steevens<sup>13</sup> (tryckt i Stockholm). Bättre i detta

*“ mihi parva rura et  
Spirium Graiae tenuem camenae  
Parca non mendax dedit et malignum*

*Spernere vulgus.”—Hor. Carm., II, 16, 37-40.*

<sup>8</sup>“presterar sig.” The meaning is clear, but I am unfamiliar with the word in this sense. “Passar” or “lampar sig” would be more according to usage.

<sup>10</sup>Cp. the opinion of DeQuincey on this point, *Works* (Boston, 1882), IV, 202 ff., 358 ff. “A chapter upon German rhetoric would be in the same ludicrous predicament as Van Troil’s chapter on the snakes of Iceland,” etc. “We doubt, indeed, whether any German has written prose with grace, unless he had lived abroad . . . .”

<sup>11</sup>“Äro . . . ingen enda.” The correct form, “Är . . . ingen enda . . .”

<sup>12</sup>W. Strong (London, 1833).

<sup>13</sup>G. Stephens (London, 1839).

ofseende är Lathmans.<sup>14</sup> Men främst sätter jag likväl Herr Professorns, både i afseende på ordförståendet och versificationen. Det enda jag har emot öfversättningen är att hon ej är komplett, och det är härtill [nämligen att fullborda densamma]<sup>15</sup> som jag tar mig friheten att uppmana Herr Professorn på det jag må kunna säga, att Frithjof åtminstone på ett språk är väl öfversatt.

I vinter börjar jag utgifva en samling of mina skrifter i vers ock prosa. Samlingen är beräknad på 4 serier, hvardera innehållande omkring 20 å 30 Band, och hvaraf jag hoppas kunna utgifva 1sta Serien inom 1 år härifrån<sup>16</sup> Större delen of innehållet är hittills otryckt. Med Wijks skepp<sup>17</sup> vill jag skicka ett exemplar deraf, till Amerika, i den mån de lemna pressen, adresserad till Her Professorn såsom ett bevis af aktning och förbindelse. Denna sistnämnda skulle ännu mer ökas om Herr Professorn ansåge något däraf vara värdt en öfversättning.

Sista upplagan of Frithiod bifogas.

Med högaktning ock tillgifvenhet,

Herr Professorns,

Ödmjuka tjenare, Es. Tegnér.

*Translation.*<sup>18</sup>

BOKEDAL, by Gothenborg, July 10, 1841.

Three years ago, when I was here at Bokedal visiting with Wijk and his beautiful wife, the most beautiful woman in Sweden, I received the letter, review, and fragmentary transla-

<sup>14</sup>R. G. Latham. His translation (in verse) was published in London, 1838.

<sup>15</sup>1840 Tegnér was physically and mentally ailing. In the Spring of 1841 he returned from a hospital in Slesvig and was, perhaps, not entirely well. That may account for some of the irregularities in the letter. See Erdmann: *E. Tegner*," p. 269 ff.

<sup>16</sup>The plan was not carried out.

<sup>17</sup>Wijk was a merchant of Gothenborg who seems to have carried on a trade with America. Cp. *Sve. Borg. Lexicon* (Stock. 1906), II, p. 728. Tegnér was a friend of the family. See "*Bilder och Minnen*," of Wieselgren (Stock. 1889), p. 43. Longfellow also spent some enjoyable hours with the Wijks. See Higginson, "*Life*," p. 101 ff.

<sup>18</sup>A translation, with one or two small omissions, is published in "*Life*," I, 394 ff.

tion of "Frithiof," with which the Professor<sup>19</sup> has honored me. Official duties, the Riksdag, recently adjourned, and a severe nervous illness afterwards, have hindered me, however, from thanking you, as I ought, for all this. Without really putting the highest value on the judgment of the public in or outside of my native land, and with the Horatian

*malignum*

*Spernere vulgus*

for my motto, yet I rejoice, of course, to find my poems reproduced in a striking manner, especially for a nation which I value. It has always been my conviction that English is of all languages that which best lends itself for translations from Swedish, for the Englishman loves, as we, to concentrate the expression, thought or figure, into the least possible space, and to flash a short but sharp sword, while the German prefers the long, dragging periods, and likes to cover his weapons with moulded hogskin.<sup>20</sup> The English language, on the other hand, is a collection of laconicisms, and the much misjudged Pope, with his sharply-ground antheses, has always appeared to me as the true representative of the genius of the English language.

However, among the four or five translations I know of "Frithiof," and have had a chance to see, there is not any with which I am entirely satisfied, except the Professor's. When the translator has understood the meaning, which has not always happened, the irremediable technical inability [of the translator] and his insufficient command over his language have often disfigured the translation. For English is [not] an elastic language, difficult enough to bend if it shall not fly to pieces;<sup>21</sup> thus it has happened in the case of an anonymous [translator], and in the case of Strong and Stephens (whose translation was printed at Stockholm). Latham's is better in this respect. But before all, I place the Professor's, however, both as regards the understanding of the language and the versification. The only thing I have against

<sup>19</sup>"Herr Professor corresponds to the German, but can not be translated into English. We would use simply "you" in this case.

<sup>20</sup>The figure loses all its flavor in translation.

<sup>21</sup>Springa sönder, lit. spring asunder, break.

the translation is that it is not complete, and it is to this [namely, of completing it], that I take the liberty of urging the Professor, so that I may be able to say that "Frithiof" is well translated into, at least, one language.

This Winter I begin to publish a collection of my writings in verse and prose. The collection is planned to appear in four series, each containing about twenty to thirty volumes, and I hope to be able to publish the first series within a year from now. The greater part of the contents has hitherto not been published. By Wijk's ship I will send a copy of this to America as soon as the volumes leave the press, addressed to the Professor, as evidence of my esteem and gratitude. This latter would be still more increased if the Professor would consider any of it worthy of translation.

The last edition of "Frithiof" is added.

With esteem and attachment,

the Professor's

Humble servant, ES. TEGNÉR.

*Letter addressed to Nicander.<sup>23</sup>*

(Original preserved at the Royal Library, Stockholm.)

Transcribed from the photographic reproduction.

PIAZZA MADAMA, Den 29 Oct., 1828.

Lieber Freund,

Der Brief, der sie hatten die Güte dieser morgen mir zu schreiben, kann ich nicht verstehen:—Ci vorrá una settimana per leggerla. Ho capito però, "Auch heute kann ich nicht kommen"—e quando ho letto tutto vi responderó.

Per non far aspettare, quello chi m'ha portato il vostro biglietto, corto cammino, e mi rassegno.

Il vostro amico et servitore,

ENRICO W. LONGFELLOW.

---

<sup>23</sup>The letter is addressed: Al P[ad]rone b[ene] vol[iss]i ma Il Signor Augusto Nicander, Villa Malta, Rome. Nicander had, perhaps, written in German. Longfellow's knowledge of German was at this time not very thorough, it seems. The playful remark that it would take him a week to read the little note, and that he would answer it after he had read it, indicates that he found it difficult.

## FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS.

PROF. DR. OTTO BINDEWALD, University of Giessen.  
PROF. DR. KARL BORINSKI, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ALOYS BRANDL, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. OTTO BREMER, University of Halle.  
PROF. DR. KARL BREUL, King's College, Cambridge, England.  
PROF. DR. KONRAD BURDACH, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. CREIZENACH, University of Krakau.  
PROF. DR. ERNST ELSTER, University of Marburg.  
DR. K. ENDEMANN, Weilberg a. L.  
PROF. DR. LUDWIG GEIGER, University of Berlin.  
DR. GRAEVELL, Brussels.  
PROF. DR. F. HOLTHAUSEN, University of Kiel.  
PROF. DR. M. H. JELLINEK, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. O. JIRICZEK, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. MAX KOCH, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. K. LANDMANN, Darmstadt.  
PROF. DR. PAUL LANGHANS, Gotha.  
PROF. DR. H. LAMBEL, University of Prague.  
PROF. DR. JOHN MEIER, University of Basel.  
PROF. DR. RUDOLPH MEISSNER, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. RICHARD M. MEYER, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. J. MINOR, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. E. MOGK, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. LORENZ MORSBACH, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. F. MUNCKER, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ANTON SCHOENBACH, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. BERNHARD SEUFFERT, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. ALEXANDER TILLE, University of Glasgow.  
PROF. DR. H. VARNHAGEN, University of Erlangen.  
PROF. DR. OSKAR WALZEL, University of Bern.  
PROF. DR. G. WITKOWSKI, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. WYCHGRAM, University of Leipzig.

(List may be extended.)

---

### Form von Vermächtnissen.

I give and bequeath to the "*German American Historical Society*", Central Office located at Philadelphia Pa., \_\_\_\_\_

---

(here describe the amount, if money or premises, if real estate)

to aid in carrying out the designs of the Society.

## THE NATIONAL GERMAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

*President*, DR. C. J. HEXAMER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*1st Vice-Pres.*, JOSEPH KELLER, Indianapolis, Ind.  
*2d Vice-Pres.*, NOAH GUTER, Newark, N. J.  
*Treas.*, H. WENIGER, Phila., Pa. *Fin. Sec.*, JOHN YENNY, East Pittsburg, Pa.  
*Sec.*, ADOLPH TIMM, 522 W. Lehigh Ave., Phila., Pa.

### *National Executive Committee:*

JOHN TJARKS, Balto., Md.; C. W. BENTE, Wheeling, W. Va.,  
KURT VOELCKNER, Washington, D. C.; F. OSKAR MARTIN, Idaho;  
H. I. NIENSTEDT, St. Paul, Minn.; GUSTAV C. MARTENS, Cleveland, O.;  
C. C. LIENAU, Newark, N. J.; DR. CARL BARCK, St. Louis, Mo.,  
DR. H. A. C. ANDERSON, N. Y. City; ALBERT CURRLIN, Oakland, Cal.;  
H. C. BLODEL, Allegheny, Pa.; CARL EBERHARD, Boston, Mass.

## THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(INCORPORATED 1901)

*Honorary President*, J. G. ROSENGARTEN, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*President*, DR. ALBERT BERNHEIM, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Vice-Presidents*: L. P. HENNIGHAUSEN, Baltimore, Md. H. M. VON STARK-  
LOFF, St. Louis, Mo. C. F. HUCH, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Editor*: MARION D. LEARNED, BOX 10, College Hall, University of Pennsyl-  
vania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Secretary*: ADOLPH TIMM, 522 W. Lehigh Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Treasurer*: HANS WENIGER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Business Manager*: CHARLES H. BREITBARTH, 809 Spring Garden Street,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Annual Dues, \$5.00.

## THE UNION OF OLD GERMAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

Headquarters, ARION HALLE, 59th St. and Park Ave., NEW YORK.

*President*, DR. CARL BECK, 37 E. 31st St., New York.

### *Vice-Presidents:*

DR. M. D. LEARNED, DR. HENRY G. KRAUSE,  
HON. CHAS. F. MCLEAN, DR. CARL BARCK,  
DR. W. FREUDENTHAL.  
*Rec. Secretary*, DR. J. HECKMANN. *Cor. Secretary*, DR. CARL PFISTER.  
*Treasurer*, DR. ALBERT J. W. KERN, Jamaica, N. Y.

### *Directors:*

DR. EM. BARUCH, W. HALLOCK,  
DR. CHAS. F. CHANDLER, DR. R. JOHNSTONE MOONEY,  
H. DROBEGG, DR. H. MURNSTERNBERG,  
DR. C. W. ELIOT, W. SCHAUFFLER,  
D. C. GILMAN, DR. H. SCHOENFELD,  
WILLIAM R. HARPER, H. SCHUETER,  
FRIEDRICH HIRTH, DR. J. G. SCHURMAN,  
OSWALD JOERG, DR. L. L. SEAMAN,  
HENRY G. KRAUSE, ANDREW H. SMITH,  
L. HERZOG, ANDREW VON GRIMM,  
H. A. WEBER.

Annual Dues, \$3.00.

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations  
OF  
Germany and America

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*  
*The National German American Alliance*  
*The Union of Old German Students in America*

### CONTENTS :

The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown	-	195
Konvention des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Central-Vereins von Pennsylvanien	- - - - -	235
Bibliography of German Americana for the Year 1906	- - -	249

NEW SERIES, Vol. 5, No. 4.                      OLD SERIES, Vol. 9, No. 4.  
JULY AND AUGUST, 1907.

Subscription Price, \$3.00.                      Single Copies, 50 cents.

COPYRIGHT, 1907.

(Entered March 2, 1903, at Philadelphia, Pa., as Second Class matter, under Act of  
Congress, of March 3, 1879)

PUBLISHED BY

THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,  
809 SPRING GARDEN STREET,  
Philadelphia.

Berlin :  
MAYER & MÜLLER

New York :  
CARL A. STERN

Leipzig :  
F. A. BROCKHAUS

London :  
KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

Paris :  
H. LESOUDIER



## ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Bi-Monthly, GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, is a continuation of the Quarterly, AMERICANA GERMANICA, and will make accessible to a wider public current matter bearing upon the Relations of Germany and America. Each number will contain a series of original contributions, reviews, book notices and lists of new publications, relating to the history of the Germans in America and also to American studies in the general field of Germanica.

The original title AMERICANA GERMANICA will be retained for the series of larger monographs which do not fall within the limits of a periodical, and for reprints. These monographs will be published at such times as they are presented, and will be sold separately, the price varying according to the character of the monograph.

In the Monthly regular attention will be given to reviews and book notices. New publications will be promptly listed and so far as possible reviewed. Contributions, books for review and exchanges are solicited, especially such as come within the scope of the Monthly, and should be sent to the editor, *M. D. Learned, Box 10, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.*

Subscriptions and other business communications should be directed to the business manager, *Charles H. Breitbarth, 809 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, Pa.*

The annual subscription price is three dollars (\$3.00) in advance. Members of the German American Historical Society are entitled to the periodical publications issued by the Society. To members of other affiliated societies the Monthly will be sent for two dollars (\$2.00), provided not less than a hundred members of such a society subscribe for the journal.

### SPECIAL TO LIBRARIES.

#### GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS.

As full sets are nearly exhausted, Vol. I-IV will not be sold separately. Back sets can be had as follows :

Volume I,	}	complete . . . . .	\$10.00
Volume II,			
Volume III,			
Volume IV,			
Volume V, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VI, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VII, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VIII, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00

#### AMERICANA GERMANICA (Monographs Bound in Cloth).

1. *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines.* By E. Z. Davis, Ph. D. . . . . \$1.50
2. *The Harmony Society.* By J. A. Bole, Ph. D. . . . . 1.50
3. *Friedrich Schiller in America.* By E. C. Parry, Ph. D. . . . . 1.25
4. *The Influence of Salomon Gessner Upon English Literature.*  
By Bertha Reed . . . . . 1.25
5. *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri.* By Wm. G. Bek . . . . . 1.50





MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS' "RÖMISCHER ADLER".  
(Frontispiece.)

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations  
OF  
Germany and America

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*  
*The National German American Alliance*  
*The Union of Old German Students in America*

EDITOR,

MARION DEXTER LEARNED,  
University of Pennsylvania.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS :

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| H. C. G. BRANDT,<br>Hamilton College.       | JULIUS GOEBEL,<br>Harvard University.            |
| W. H. CARPENTER,<br>Columbia University.    | J. T. HATFIELD,<br>Northwestern University.      |
| W. H. CARRUTH,<br>University of Kansas.     | W. T. HEWETT,<br>Cornell University.             |
| HERMANN COLLITZ,<br>Bryn Mawr College.      | A. R. HOHLFELD,<br>University of Wisconsin.      |
| STARR W. CUTTING,<br>University of Chicago. | HUGO K. SCHILLING,<br>University of California.  |
| DANIEL K. DODGE,<br>University of Illinois. | H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,<br>University of Chicago. |
| A. B. FAUST,<br>Cornell University.         | HERMANN SCHOENFELD,<br>Columbian University.     |
| KUNO FRANCKE,<br>Harvard University.        | CALVIN THOMAS,<br>Columbia University.           |
| ADOLPH GERBER,<br>Late of Earlham College.  | H. S. WHITE,<br>Harvard University.              |
| HENRY WOOD, Johns Hopkins University.       |  |

New Series, Vol. 5.

1907.

Old Series, Vol. 9.

PUBLISHED BY

THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,

Philadelphia.

**Berlin :**  
MAYER & MÜLLER

**New York :**  
CARL A. STERN

**Leipzig :**  
F. A. BROCKHAUS

**London :**  
KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

**Paris :**  
H. LESOUDIER



# German American Annals

(CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY)

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

New Series,  
Vol. V. No. 4.

July and August  
1907.

Old Series,  
Vol. IX. No. 4.

FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS.

The Founder of Germantown.

By MARION DEXTER LEARNED.

(CHAPTER I. Continued.)

### PRINTED WORKS.

The following works by M. A. Pastorius were printed:

1. Römischer Adler | Oder Theatrum | Electionis | et Coronationis | Romano-Cæsareæ. | Mit denen darbey | Interessirenden Hohen Stands-Personen. | In Zwey Theil repräsentirt. | . . . .  
Durch M. A. Pastorium J. V. D. | Auch mit Kupffern gezieret. |  
Franckfurt am Mayn | In Verlegung Georg Fickwirdts, Buchhändlers. | Getruckt bey Aegidio Vogel. | Anno M.DC.LVII.<sup>68</sup>

The first suggestion of such a work may have come to Pastorius during his sojourn in Austria at the time of the coronation of Ferdinand IV as King of Hungary in 1647, and revived when the young Count, Franciscus of Limpurg, went as Imperial Cupbearer to the coronation of Ferdinand IV as Emperor at Regensburg, 1653. The *Römischer Adler* gives an interesting and detailed account of the coronation of a German Emperor, with special particulars relating to the coronation of 1653, as well as to that of Otto I and Charles V. This work was regarded by Schnorr von Carolsfeld as a production of Johann Augustin Pastorius, as the following remark will show:

“Bedarf aus dem Grunde besonderer Erwähnung, weil der

<sup>68</sup> The full title may be seen in the photographic reproduction included in this work.

Verfasser auf dem Titelblatte M. (wol nicht=Magister) A. Pastorius genannt ist."<sup>69</sup> Schnorr von Carolsfeld was evidently not acquainted with the name of M(elchior) A(dam) Pastorius, which is the name that settles his doubt and at the same time corrects his mistake.

2. Fasciculus | Rhythmorum | Spiritualium tum | Ex Antiquioribus  
| tum | Recentioribus Scriptoribus | Collectus | et Orthodoxæ  
Veritatis Amatoribus | ad usum compacentem | Communicatus  
| Abs Melchiore Adamo Pastorio J. C. | Consule Ac Scholarcha  
Windsheimense | Windshemii, | Typis Adami Christiani Redel-  
hamerl | Anno Christi, 1689.

This collection is dedicated to Heinrich Förster and Christopher Schutz. The dedication gives some important facts concerning the collection, stating among other things that the author has added some of his own poems, "nonnullos ex meis addidi." The longest poem of the author included in the collection is his "Sterb-Lied," which is a penitential lyric of nearly four hundred four-stressed, iambic verses in rhymed couplets or alternate rhymes. A short specimen will suffice to illustrate the character of the poem.<sup>70</sup>

3. Kurtze | Beschreibung | Des | H. R. Reichs Stadt | Windsheim  
| Samt | Dero vielfältigen Unglücks-Fällen, | . . . Nürnberg,  
1692.<sup>71</sup>

This is a succinct account of the imperial city of Windsheim from its earliest beginning to the author's own time, giving a list of the Burgomasters and other high officials of the city. In the Archives of the city of Windsheim there is a manuscript of this work, which is evidently the original draft of the matter now found in the printed book. This manuscript<sup>71a</sup> bears the

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, sub. nom.

<sup>70</sup> "Ach HErr und GOtt. Sih an die Noth  
Wie ich hier steck in Sünden Roth,  
Mich armes Kind Sehr quält die Sünd  
Die ich im Gwissen starck empfind."

<sup>71</sup> Cf. the photographic facsimile for full title.

<sup>71a</sup> Cf. the photographic facsimile.

date of 1670, thus showing that the work antedates the printed book by a period of twenty-two years. It was in the year 1670 that Pastorius was elected Elder Burgomaster, Auditor of Church Accounts, and "Landassessor." The word is thus an evidence of his growing interest in the affairs of the city of Windsheim.

4. Franconia | Rediviva | Das ist: | Des Hochlöblichen | Fränckischen Craises | So wohl Genealogische, | als Historische | Beschreibung | in welcher enthalten: | . . . . | Alles mit Fleisz Colligirt und in Publicum | gegeben durch | Melchiorum Adam. Pastorium; | J. U. D. Hochfürstl. Brandenb. Bayreuth. Raht | und Historicum. | In Verlegung desz Authoris. 1702.

In the *Chronica Windsheimensis*<sup>72</sup> we read that this book was printed in Schwabach, but was confiscated by the censor, because Pastorius had made use of the title "Hochfürstl brandenburghr Rath and Historicus." In this statement we see traces of the old trouble in Windsheim. The extant copies of the book bear the press mark of 1702, and make no mention of Schwabach as the place of printing. It seems doubtful that there was an earlier printed edition of the work. If the extant edition is the same as that which was confiscated, it must be said that the Secretary, who made the entry in the *Chronica Windsheimensis*, seems never to have read the work, as it is difficult to find such objectionable passages as he mentions. The passages reflecting on Windsheim are to be sought either in the chapter entitled "Einige Merckwürdige Begebenheiten in der Stadt Windsheim," or in the rather strong statement touching the decadence of the city, which the author tucked away in the chapter entitled "Von Einigung und Bündnissen." The few "Merckwürdige Begebenheiten" are of much earlier date than

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *Chronica Windsheimensis*, October 1-28, 1696: "In Nürnberg hat Er dem fränckn Crays, unterm Prædicat alsz Hoch Fürstl brandenburgr Rath und Historicus einen Tractat sub Titulö: Franconia rediviva: Den er zu Schwabach drucken lassen, dediciret; Dieses Opus, worinnen aller windsheimische Unterthanen und geistliche Vorfälle, wieder seinen auszgestellten Revers public gemacht ist von Craysseswegen confisciret worden."



the troubles in Windsheim and for the most part too trivial to be considered. The passage referring to the decline of Windsheim runs thus:

“Und aus diesen und noch vielmehr dergleichen Begegnussen leicht abzumerken ist, worum diese alte Reichs-Stadt in eine solche fast unbeschreibliche *Decadentz* gerathen ist, woraus sie sich in einem gantzen *Seculo* schwerlich wieder schwingen wird.”<sup>73</sup>

It is evident from the context, however, that Pastorius has in mind here the damage done by the Thirty Years' War, and does not intend the slightest reflection upon the Windsheimers of 1690-1700. It must be noted too that the *Franconia Rediviva* of 1702 has the title “Hochfürstl. Brandenb. Bayreuth. Raht und Historicum” on the title page. Hence we are inclined to look critically upon the rather severe account of the *Chronica Windshemensis*.

#### UNPRINTED MANUSCRIPTS.

A great part of the writings of Melchior Adam Pastorius seems to have remained in manuscript. It has been our good fortune to unearth a number of these manuscripts in the preparation of the present work. It is not at all impossible that others may exist and yet come to light. It will suffice here to indicate briefly the general character of the contents of these newly-discovered documents. Three different volumes of manuscripts have been found, all in small octavo of the time, bound in leather with gilt or stained edges and clasps, evidently bound for the author himself for permanent preservation. The writing is in the author's fine clear hand and easily legible for those acquainted with German script. The volumes are here designated by the short titles (1) *Itinerarium*, (2) *Prognosticon*, (3) *Liber Intimissimus*. The fuller titles follow below.<sup>73a</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Cf. *Franconia Rediviva*, p. 339.

<sup>73a</sup>. The *Itinerarium* and *Prognosticon* are the property of Dr. Joseph G. Rosengarten, of Philadelphia. The *Liber Intimissimus* belongs to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS' "FRANCONIA REDIVIVA".  
(Frontispiece Title.)



1. Melchioris Adami Pastorii | Erffvrtensis | Itinerarium | et | Vitæ Cvrrievlvs | Das ist: | Seine Völlige Reis-Beschreibung | und gantzer Lebens Lauff. | Sampt einigen | Merckwürdigen Begebenheiten | und anzaigungen derer iedes Orths | befindlichen Raritäten.<sup>74</sup>

This is the most important of all the three unprinted manuscripts of Pastorius, as it deals largely with his own life and times. The blank leaf has some records of births on the front page. The first numbered leaf contains title with verses on both pages. Leaves 2-5 contain a description of the city of Erfurt: "Kurtze Beschreibung der Statt Erfurtt." Leaves 6-7 treating of the Jesuits are torn out. Leaves 10-48 give a description of Pastorius' studies and long journeys, interspersed with anagrams on his friends and acquaintances. The rest of the volume, leaves 49-243, is taken up with anagrams on members of the Pastorius family and historical personages and with biographical notes.

2. Prognosticon | Siue | Calendarium Perpetuum | De Anni qualitate et futuris Temporibus.<sup>75</sup>

This manuscript contains 406 leaves, many of which are blank. In addition to the prognostical part in the first 22 pages, the book contains a great amount of matter too miscellaneous to describe in detail, such as proverbs, a dictionary of common places in Latin verses, national characteristics, Aesopian wisdom, rhyme dictionary, generation of plants, and the last part of the book in German, entitled: "Schatz-Kammer Melchioris Adami Pastorii."

3. Liber | Intimiss | invs Omnivm | Semper Mecvm | Continens | Thesavrvm Thesavrorvm | Jesvm | Quem Diligo Solvm. | in qvo vivo | et | in qvo moriar | ego | Melchior Adam Pastorius. I. C. | Nazione Erfffurtensis. Vocatione Consul senior et Prætor Windsheimensis. Aedilis | Scholarcha et Xenodochij Sancti Spiritus | Administrator. | Scripsi hunc Libellum Anno Christi 1697 et finiui 7. Iunij, 1701.

<sup>74</sup> The verses following the title on the same page may be seen in the photographic reproduction.

<sup>75</sup> The rest of the title page is filled with Latin verse and prose relating to the calendar and seasons.

This volume is devoted largely to poetic reflections and confessions growing out of the troubles of the last years of the author's life, interspersed with autobiographical and personal notes, such as his last will and testament, his spiritual epitaph and his preparation for death. The lyric poems are deeply religious, and much of the book has an eschatological tone. There is an interesting exception in the case of a collection of proverbial rhymes, the best of which may serve as a specimen:

Demuth bringt vns zu ehren

Wer sich nidrig hält zur Erden  
Wird von Gott erhöht werden.

Als Adam hackt und Eua spann,  
Wo war damals der Edelmann?

Als Iacob hüth des Labans Schaff,  
Wo war damals Baron und Graff?

Als Abraham gieng aus seim Land,  
Erhub ihn Gott zum Hohen Stand.  
Vnd als sein Glaube ward bewehrt,  
Gab er durch jhn das Heyl der Erd.

The details of this chapter on the ancestors, and particularly on Melchior Adam Pastorius, will form an important background for the life and works of Francis Daniel Pastorius in the following chapters.

#### LIBRI MELCHIORIS ADAMI PASTORIJ MANUSCRIPTI.

##### *In Folio.*

1. Historia Vniversalis et Pontificum Vitæ. In fol.
2. Loci Communes Bibliorum. In fol.
3. Veritas una sola et simplex. In fol.
4. Annotata super Struuium. In fol.
5. Oeconomia Melchioris A. P. In fol.

##### *In Quarto.*

6. Loci Communes ex Corpore Iuris.
7. Compendium Postillæ Lutheri.



SOMMERHAUSEN IN 1903.  
(Inner and Outer Wall with a Round Tower.)



8. Controversiæ Fidei.
9. Alphabetum Poeticum.
10. Icones Mortis et alia Emblemata.
11. Ioannis Tauleri notabilia dicta.
12. Aquila Imperij.

*In Octavo.*

13. Icones Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti.
14. Icones Bibliorum Noui Testamenti.
15. Icones super Epistolas Petri, Pauli, etc.
16. Alphabetum Biblicum. Loci Communes.
17. Postilla manuscripta Omnium Prima.
18. Postilla manuscripta Secunda.
19. Postilla manuscripta Tertia impressa.
20. Bibel Bilder Veteris et Noui Testam.
21. Schola amoris diuini.
22. Gebet Buch das Erste unter allen.
23. Memoriale Biblicum.
24. Beicht und Communion Buch.
25. Vermehrtes Beicht Buch.
26. Casus Conscientiæ.
27. Aller Künste Kunst.
28. Sacra Carmina.
29. Memoria Studiorum.
30. Quod libitum sentent.
31. Policeij Beschreibung.
32. Entraden Beschreibung.
33. Fränckisch Crais Recess.
34. Instrumentum Pacis.
35. Rechtliche Bedencken.
36. Bibliorum Compendium.
37. Biblion Icones et Comp.
38. Omnia In oi [?] aliquid.
39. Evangelistar Concordatia.
40. Vita IESV Christi.
41. Historia Universalis.
42. Lebens Lauff M. A. P.
43. Intimissimus omnium.
44. Carmina in Amicos.
45. Curiosa Mundi.
46. Titular Buch.
47. Process Buch.
48. Türckisch Buch.
49. Historica Nouellen.



50. Monetæ Valor.
51. Amorosa Diuina.
52. Morituri Preces.
53. Vade mecum.
54. Vanitas Mundi.
55. Eremitorium.
56. Italiæ Descriptio.
57. Reis Beschreibung M. A. P.
58. Icones Mortis.

*In Duodecimo.*

59. Poesis Artificiosa.
60. Matricula Imperij.
61. Amorosa Diuina.
62. Liebes übung.
63. Compendium Iuris.
64. Process Buech.
65. De Regno Galliæ.
66. De Religione.
67. De Alchimia.
68. Stamm Büchlein.
69. Filij Gebet Buch.
70. De Maleficis.

Nützliche Büchlein: Thomæ de Kempis Vnterricht uon der Nachfolgung Christi per Ioannem Olearium.

Gedancken von der Ewigkeit des Herren de la Serre Durch M. Petrum Sartorium. Franckfurtt, 1884.<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *Liber Intimissimus* (last leaf).

Sequitur actus nuptiales. in ao 1650

Dn: Melchior Adamus Pastorius Explorandensis, J. V. D., Nuptus, mit verfangeneter Bn,  
Hessin religion, sich v. infam. altem solignenfortes. Evangel. religion  
v. einen ungewänderten, einflussig. confession mit sich v. nicht  
öffentlich bezeugt, auch habe darauf die fochs' abentmal in geheimer  
geheim, nach brisik selbst origin. stiftung, v. hieser anfangen pri.,

Vat. absolution, geforse, nicht geant, v. öffentlich, v. hieser. Inzimalige offene  
predomaten v. gefaltoren, schiedend, schied- v. öffentlich capiten. thand,  
mit der hie- v. Dagerstans. frau Magdalena, Magd. de Joh. Gess,  
Linn. Stützsch. allein, findelstoms v. hie, den 22. Junii.

RECORD OF THE MARRIAGE OF PASTORIUS' PARENTS  
(From the Church Book in Sommerhausen)



## CHAPTER II.

## EARLY YEARS AND EDUCATION.

The traditions into which Pastorius was born were the most enlightened of the epoch. Descended on his father's side from a family which had long been prominent factors in the Roman Catholic Church, but with his father Melchior Adam Pastorius passed over to the Lutheran (Augustinian) confession, his lot fell among the most stirring intellectual events of the seventeenth century. The vast information and professional experience of his father as jurist and burgomaster of the imperial city of Windsheim opened the broadest horizon for young Franciscus, as he looked out with eager gaze into the stirring life of his time. Nature, station and fortune united in giving him talents, influence and opportunity.

On the mother's side Pastorius descended from sturdy, honest burgher stock, his maternal grandfather, Stephan Dietz, having been bailiff of Nordheim.<sup>1</sup> Melchior Adam Pastorius gives the following sketch of Dietz in an anagram :

Stephan Diez  
anagramma  
STEH DEN SPIZ AUS

Allstets der grimmig Tod sein Stachel hat gewetzt  
Wann er seis Pfeiles Spiz dir an das Hertze setzet  
So must du mitt ihm fort steh nur den Spitz wohl aus  
Er zeigt dir nur die Thür zu ienem Himmels Haus.  
Ich lebte Still und Trew vor Gott und andern Christen  
Verlangte Niemals nicht zu g'winnen was mitt Listen  
Maynnortheim weis es wohl wie ich mein Guth gewann  
Maynbernheim hiesse mich den Redlich Teutschen Mann.  
Doch hat dess Krieges Schwall mein Häuser weggenommen  
Das meiner Kinder keins derselben Eins bekommen  
Ein ieder lern daraus das wir allhier nur Gäst  
Auff Gott und nicht auff Welt vns sollen gründen fest.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 49b.

*In Sommerhausen.*

The town of Sommerhausen, in which Pastorius was born September 26, 1651, lies on the right bank of the Main some eight miles above Würzburg and opposite the twin town of Winterhausen, situated on the left bank of the Main. The beautiful valley of the Main with its gentle slopes and fertile meadows early attracted the eyes of Alemanni, Bajuvari, Goths, Huns, Romans and Franks, and became a fruitful part of the Agri Decumates of the Romans, the primeval forests yielding submissively to the inroads of Roman agriculture. It was in this sunny region, too, that St. Kilian heralded the gospel a generation before St. Boniface, the Apostle of the Germans, stretched out his organizing hand over the hills of Franconia and Thuringia, and Boniface's kinswoman, the Anglo-Saxon nun Liobgytha, planted the first German convent for girls at Bischofsheim on the Tauber. In the course of time the region came under the episcopal administration centred at Würzburg, a thriving city on a great European thoroughfare, whose bishop attained the rank of an ecclesiastical prince, with the outlying towns, like Sommerhausen and Winterhausen, as his tributaries.

How Sommerhausen appeared in the time of Pastorius we learn from his father Melchior Adam Pastorius:

"Sommerhausen, a beautiful spot on the Main opposite Winterhausen belongs to the Hereditary Cupbearers and Semper Free [Counts] of Limpurg, but they have it as a fief ['Mann-Lehen'] of the Bishop of Würzburg. It has a baronial house and beautiful church, also wine vaults and bailif, pure water and a specially good growth of vineyards and productive fruit trees."<sup>8</sup>

A corresponding picture is given of Winterhausen in the same period:

"Winterhausen quite a large place, but without the privilege of a market, belongs to the Hereditary Cupbearers and Semper Free

---

<sup>8</sup> Translated from the German of M. A. Pastorius' *Franconia Rediviva*, p. 431.



CASTLE AT SOMMERHAUSEN IN 1903.  
(Residence of the Counts of Limpurg.)



of Limpurg, and these have it together with Sommerhausen as fief from the Bishop of Würzburg. It is good grapeland but somewhat rough on this side [of the river]."<sup>4</sup>

Sommerhausen is still one of the best preserved German towns at the present day, bearing all the marks of Pastorius' and earlier times. Among the survivals are the old double wall with its well preserved square and round towers and gates, the baronial Castle<sup>5</sup> of the Counts of Limpurg in excellent state of preservation, and with the old building of the last quarter of the seventeenth century still intact, the old Court House (Rathaus) in the same style as the castle, the quaint wells ("gesunde Brunnen" mentioned by Melchior Adam Pastorius) and interesting vessels (large tanks<sup>6</sup>) for carrying the water, the Pastorius house still well preserved, and the same narrow streets and ancient houses about which the Founder of Germantown played as a child.

The first six years of Pastorius' life were passed in Sommerhausen. The house in which he was born and spent his infancy, before the erection of the new house in 1655, has not been located, but we have some interesting details of his early childhood. The record of his birth is found in his father's *Itinerarium* and in his own Genealogical Sketch, and is given in both with great particularity.

The father's account, written in German, runs thus in English translation :

"In the year of Christ 1651, the 26. of Sept. Old Style, early in the morning between 1 and 2 o'clock in the sign of the crab, Franciscus Daniel Pastorius was born, and the following day baptized under the sponsorship of the High Wellborn Franciscus of

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Franconia Rediviva*, p. 448 (misprinted 348 in the book).

<sup>5</sup> This castle is still occupied by representatives of the Limpurg House. The lower part of the castle, once used as a stable, is now turned into a summer dining room. Her Ladyship Countess Christine graciously invited the writer to partake of her hospitality and gave him access to the Chronicle of the Limpurg Family.

<sup>6</sup> See the illustration showing a woman with such a tank on her back.



Limpurg Hereditary Cupbearer of the Holy Roman Empire and Semper Free, and of the most worthy and erudite Daniel Gering Dr. of Laws."<sup>7</sup>

Pastorius himself gives this account :

"J Francis Daniel Pastorius was born at Sommerhausen in Franckenland the 26th of September between 1 & 2 a clock [!] in the morning, Anno 1651. & had (after the Lutheran fashion,) for my God-fathers Franciscus, Semperfrey of Limburg, and Daniel Gering, J. U. D. living at Segnitz."<sup>8</sup>

It was from these two distinguished godfathers, young Baron Franciscus Count of Limpurg (then 14 years of age), and His Excellency Dr. Gering of Segnitz, that Pastorius received his two baptismal names "Franciscus" (Franz) and "Daniel" respectively.

The official record of Pastorius' baptism is found in the German *Taufbuch* of Sommerhausen, where it was copied and photographed for this work. The original runs thus :

Sequuntur Baptisati in ao 1651

Franciscus Daniel, Hn D. Melch : Adam Pastorij D. J. Sönlein getauft, haben es aus der H. Tauffe gehoben, oder es daselbst verantwortet vnd ihren Christl. nahmen mitgetheilet der Wohlgeborne Zeuge Herr Herr Franciscus H. 3 Limpurg etc.; Wie auch Ihr Excellenz H. D. Gehring zu Segnitz etc. Den 27. 7bris.<sup>9</sup>

Two events of Pastorius' childhood in Sommerhausen were deeply graven upon his memory. One was a sad tragedy in the boy's life, the death of his mother Magdalena,<sup>10</sup> whose piety and gentleness of spirit followed him into the wilds of the new world

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 115a.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

<sup>9</sup> The old Church Book has three divisions, containing *Baptisms*, *Burials* and *Marriages*, entered in this order. The part of the baptisms extends from 1648 to 1747. The photographic reproductions were secured through the kindness of Mr. Sol. Rosenberg of the University of Pennsylvania, and Lehrer Fr. Gutmann of Sommerhausen.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. this *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*, Cap. I (GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, IX, 164).

13  
 Vor unsern  
 in der  
 Buch.

Franch's Daniel, Sohn D. Mehl. Adam Pastorij D. J. sein getauft, Sohn  
 er aus der S. Tauffe gegeben, der er selbst verantwortet und seiner  
 Geist. vater mitgeteilt der Wolgeborenen Dörge Herr, Herr Frau,  
 alle, so die Tauffe er, Wie auch Ihre Exzellenz H. D. Geförig  
 so bringt er den 27. Febr.

RECORD OF PASTORIUS' BAPTISM  
 (From the Church Book in Sommerhausen)

Anno 1657.

Fr. Magdalena, Sohn D. Pastorij eheliche künstler, mit dem Chor n. y.  
 & w. von La Fronter, Herrin so Winterfrucht, in mittlerer Frucht.  
 Geist. v. selig so grad geliebt v. eingesendet worden, Frau:  
 Frau Lorenz, Lorenz Brügels, Bürger und gelübte  
 Dörfer, Jünger mit begraben worden, am 29. März.

BURIAL RECORD OF PASTORIUS' MOTHER  
 (From the Church Book in Sommerhausen)



and remained a benediction to him till the end of his days. The other event was of a more trifling nature, but interesting because it reflects the fondness which the young Baron Franciscus, his godfather, cherished for him. The account as here given by Pastorius in his own words, which reflect the pietistic spirit of his later years in Germantown:

“At the Removal of my Father from Sommerhausen to Windsheim the sd Semperfrey [Franciscus] clothed me in red Scarlet, giving me also a little Sword, a hat with three plumes of feathers & a pair of white boots, &c. making a fool of me, even in my tenderest years.”<sup>11</sup>

#### *In Windsheim.*

The removal from Sommerhausen to the imperial city of Windsheim in 1658 was an event of great significance in the life of young Pastorius. While Sommerhausen as a tributary of the Archbishop of Würzburg and the residence of the Count of Limburg was a town of great provincial importance, Windsheim was a strongly fortified walled city of the empire with special chartered privileges and dignities and in close touch with the affairs of the empire.<sup>12</sup>

Windsheim is situated on the Aisch and is a very ancient city, dating from the time of Emperor Honorius. It was laid out by Windegastus, Privy Councillor of King Pharamundus I. in the year 422. According to Sigebertus Gemblacensis<sup>13</sup> it was named after Windegastus and meant “Windegastsheim.” Melchior Adam Pastorius relates that in his time the following verses were still to be read on the wall of the central room of the old Rathaus:

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. M. A. Pastorius, *Kurtze Beschreibung Des H. R. Reichs Stadt Windsheim*, and also in later more condensed form *Franconia Rediviva* in the chapter entitled “Chronica Des H. Röm. Reichs Stadt Windsheim,” pp. 315-340.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. his *Chronographia*, fol. 492.

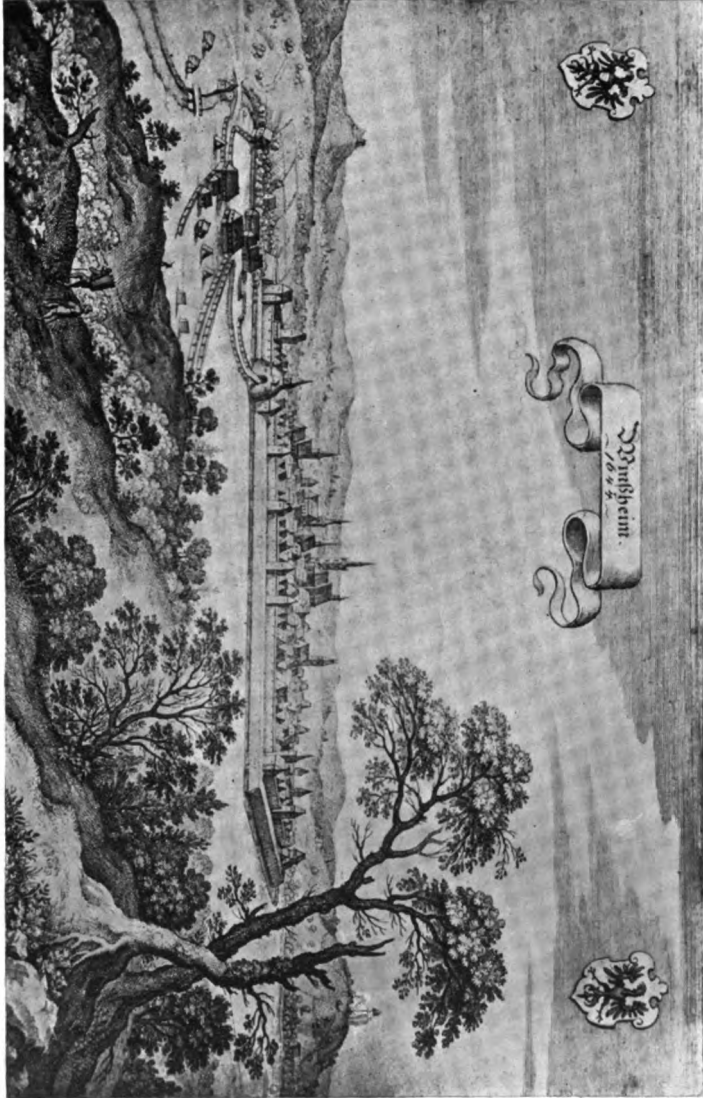
Pharamundus der Francken Herr |  
 Bath vier gelehrter Männer sehr |  
 Um G'setz dem Volck zu statuirn  
 Nach den' sichts hätt zu regulirn  
 Windegast der verständig Mann |  
 Fieng Windsheim druf zu bauen an.

The town became an imperial city ("Reichs-Stadt") in 1172 by a decree of Friedrich Barbarossa, who granted it the "Privilegia Libertatis." M. A. Pastorius describes the city as having consisted of an inner or older town, surrounded by a wall, the remains of which were visible in his time, and the outer town, which was added to the older part in 1424 for protection in the Hussite wars. In 1410 bridges of squares of red sandstone were erected on the road toward Lenckersheim. The first watchtower was built on the Weinberg in 1428. In 1555 large stone bridges were built over the Aisch to secure the Royal Road, or King's Highway (Via Regia) for travelers. There were three gates: The "Rotenburger Thor," the "See-Thor," and the "Johannser-Thor," all of which were fortified with towers and defenses in 1587. The thick wall was surrounded by a double water-moat. As early as 1582 a tile roof was constructed over the wall, so the inhabitants could go around it sheltered from the weather. The original Rathaus, built very early of wood, was enlarged in 1564 and renovated and painted in 1580.

The city contained in Pastorius' time five churches and chapels:

1. Die Pfarr-Kirche S. Kiliani, begun in 1190.
2. Die Hospital-Kirche zum Heiligen Geiste, built 1318.
3. Die Capella B. M. Virginis im See, built 1403.
4. Die Capell Aller-Heiligen im Haug, the oldest structure in Windsheim, then no longer in use.
5. Die Capell der Kärnder (Kärnter), founder not known, not in use.

A sixth church, founded by Albrecht von Gailing in 1291, was turned over to the city council in 1525; and its collection of



WINDSHEIM IN 1644.



93 books made the nucleus of the City Library,<sup>14</sup> which numbers now (1907) some 6,000 volumes. This library is one of the most valuable among the provincial collections of books in Germany, its archives running back to 1400. In Pastorius' time the city had a German school ("Deutsche Schule") and a Latin school (Gymnasium). Both schools were in a flourishing condition, much attention being given to education.<sup>15</sup>

The inner administration of Windsheim is described by M. A. Pastorius as "almost aristocratic, yet with a certain inclination toward democracy."<sup>16</sup>

Among the notable events<sup>17</sup> which Pastorius must have witnessed in Windsheim, his father mentions the following:

1659. February 16.—Leopold King of Hungary and Bohemia arrived in Windsheim with his cousin Leopold Wilhelm, Archbishop of Austria, and remained there two days.

1663. October 21.—Margrave Christian Ernst and Georg Albrecht of Brandenburg with their spouses and a retinue of sixty horse visited the city and gave a collation in the Ramminger House. Count Christian von Hohenlohe and Count von Castell were present. Seven pieces of artillery of the "See-Pastey" saluted them on their arrival and departure.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. M. A. Pastorius, *Franconia Rediviva*, p. 322 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. M. A. Pastorius, *Kurtze Beschreibung Des Reichs Stadt Windsheim*, p. 61 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Diese Stadt wird fast Aristocratisch, jedoch cum aliquali declinatione ad Democratiam guberniret, durch zwey Raths-Collegia, ein Inneres und ein äusseres: Das Innere bestehet in 13, und das äussere in 12. Personen, unter denen in jedem Collegio 4. Burgemeistere. Die Innere erwählen die äussere, die äussere Herren aber werden von beeden Collegiis conjunctim gewöhlet aus der Burgerschaft. (*Franconia Rediviva*, p. 325.)

<sup>17</sup> In 1632 many of the great figures of the Thirty Years' War met in Windsheim: "1632. Mense Julio der Schwedische Generalissimus Carolus Gustaphus Pfaltzgraffe bey Rhein, Carl Ludwig, Churfürst zu Heydelberg, und sein Bruder Philippus. Item zween Pfaltzgrafen von Saltzbach. Zween Marggrafen von Baaden. Item die Generales Axel, Lilie, Dugglas, Horn, Graf Magnus de la Garde, General Wrangel etc., etc." (*Franconia Rediviva*, p. 335.)



1664. January 19.—The Elector of Trier, Carl Caspar von der Lay, with a hundred and sixty horse spent the night in the city.

1664. January 26.—The Prince von Fürstenberg of Paderborn went around the wall on foot with a hundred horse.

1664. May 28.—Christoph Bernhard of the House of Geleen, Bishop of Münster, lodged in Windsheim with sixty horse.

The weather conditions and fire department of Windsheim are graphically reflected in the following account of a storm which occurred May 3, 1666. We give it in Melchior Adam Pastorius' own words:

1666. Den 3. May gantz zu Abends war zu Wnidsheim ein sehr grausames Donner-Wetter, dass von denen vielen Blitzen es schiene, als ob die gantze Stadt im Feuer stunde, endlich schlug ein grosser Schübel Feuer zu oberist, in den Pfarr-Thurn, der Flurer, so zu Wetter leutete, blieb vom Halle tod, bald darauf fieng der Thurn an von obenherab zu brennen, und hatte man zwo Stunden lang zu thun, bisz man das Feuer dämpffete. Auswendig konte man mit keiner Wasser-Kunst hinauf langen, inwendig war es so eng, daz nur einzelte Personen übereinander auf der Laitern stehen konten, da trug man alle die Milch aus dem Hospital und sonst zusammen, diese reichte man in ledernen Eymern einander zu, und warff der letztere die leere Eymer durch die Luft hinunter, bisz das Feuer endlich mit Gottes Hülffe gedämpffet wurde.<sup>18</sup>

Unlike Sommerhausen, Windsheim has been the prey of fire and of the ravages of time. The old City Hall and other buildings in the centre of the city were burned and rebuilt, and the splendid wall of Pastorius' time has almost entirely disappeared. Notwithstanding these changes much of the city still stands, retaining its antique appearance, as the accompanying views will show.

At the time of his father's removal from Sommerhausen to Windsheim in 1658 Pastorius was a boy not yet seven years old, just ready to attend school. He entered the Latin School, or Gymnasium, and felt the reviving touch of humanism in the

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Franconia Rediviva*, pp. 333-334.



LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES IN WINDSHEIM IN 1903.



person of its Rector, Tobias Schumberg, a Hungarian, who, unable to speak German fluently, forced his pupils to converse in Latin. In his Genealogical Sketch Pastorius gives the following account of his study in this Gymnasium:

"In Winsheim J had a good Schooling & mostly twenty or more young Earls, Baronets & noble mens Children for School-fellows, there being then an excellent Rector of the Gymnasium by name Tobias Schumberg, a Hungarian by birth, who could speak almost no Dutch [German], so that it was not allow'd to use any other Language but the Latin, &c."<sup>19</sup>

It has not been exactly determined when Schumberg became Rector of the Gymnasium at Windsheim. Melchior Adam Pastorius gives the following list of the Rectors for this period:

"1656 M. Joh. Wolffgang Gilg  
16    Tobias Schumberg  
1681 Daniel Caspar Jacobi."<sup>20</sup>

As we see the first date of Schumberg is left blank.

Rector Schumberg was evidently a brilliant Latinist of the late Humanist type and an important character in the history of the Windsheim Gymnasium. Melchior Adam Pastorius, the father of Daniel, and Scholarch of Windsheim, devoted the following significant Latin anagrams and an acrostic to the Rector:

Acrostic to the Rector:  
*Tobias Schumbergivs.*<sup>21</sup>

Anagramma  
HIC SVBSISTAM VRGEBO.

Salve Windshemium, salve pia Curia, salve  
Cum Templo Verbum, cumque Schol artis opus.  
Gressu hic subsistam post deuia longa uiarum  
Hosque Opus vrgebo sicce volente Deo.  
Intrepidus faciam quæ Recta, sed impia pellam  
Gnarus amare Bonos et reprobare Malos.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Kurtze Beschreibung Des H. R. Reichs Stadt Windsheim*, p. 11.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 70b.

The second anagram runs as follows in the original:

*Tobias Schumbergius Pannonius*<sup>22</sup>

Anagramma

BONE BONVM PANGAS IVSSV CHRISTI.

Ingenij Dotes Schumbergi sæpe probasti  
Chare Bonis, hinc te Gloria tuta manet.  
Vir Bone pergo bonum tibi fœdus cum Ioue pangas  
Et iussu Christi commoda nostra iuues.

*Acrostiche*

Tantum quisque capit laudis mihi crede Tobia  
Optime, demonstrant quantum cuiusque Labores  
Blanda pares nunquam Fortuna negavit honores  
Ingeniis ausis, superi nihil absque labore  
Arbitus addictis diuendunt adiuuat ausus  
Sobria mens, veroque ardens industria amore  
Sit Labor hinc cardi, Dominus post nubila Phœbum  
Credenti cordi reuehit, metuendaque mergit.  
Hinc iussis confide sacris sectansque labores  
Vir Bone perge Bonum tibi fœdus cum Ioue pangas  
Melleus et jussu Christi bona publica pandas  
Blanda docens Benefactor eris, studiumque iuuabis  
Et te Castalides redamabunt, addet IESVS  
Robur, ut inceptum recta ratione geratur,  
Gaudia sic capies, ibisque per ora Virorum  
Iustorum, Phœbusque tuos resonabit honores  
Viues sic vindex Virtutum, olimque beatus  
Sedibus æthereis sancita salaria [?] sumes.

Still another Latin poem by Melchior Adam Pastorius attests the esteem in which the Hungarian family was held in Windsheim. It is entitled:

In Fatum Iaopinatum

Tautoque id durius, quanto præmaturius  
Svsannæ Margarethæ Shumbergianæ.<sup>23</sup>

Quid fletis natam, quam scitis ad Astra leuatam  
Sit licet orba Solo, gestit at illa Polo.  
Spes equidem flentum fuit illa tenella Parentum  
Intar formosæ splenduit atque Rosæ

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 74b.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 94a.



**GYMNASIUM IN WINDSHEIM IN 1903.**



Blandaue subrisit, quoties Pater hancce reuisit  
 Perfixitque oculis carda [?] paterna suis  
 Tolibus at cunctis docuit nos ordine punctis  
 Quod nihil hacce domo stabile gestet Homo  
 Omnis in hoc æuo spes est plenissima næuo.  
 Spinis formosæ cinctaque forma Rosæ  
 Et breuis est Risus, prius euolat quam bene visus  
 Per momenta Oculus clauditur ipse tuus.  
 Talibus hinc rebus multis superesse diebus  
 Nostra *Susanna* nequit. *Margaris* *Astra* petit  
 Hinc pie *Schumbergi* quid fles hanc funere mergi  
 Terræ splendori prætulit ipsa mori.  
 Quam gemis ablatam nosti super æthera natam  
 Quæ nunc Angelici pars micat usque Chori  
 Idque scias tutus quod tu quoque morte solutus  
 Alloquio *Natæ* sæpe fruere tuæ  
 Interea totus tua consolatio IESVS  
 Discutiat lachrimas à facie Ipse tuas.

The poetic epistle written by Francis Daniel Pastorius to his old preceptor Schumberg, Rector of the Gymnasium at Windenheim, may be regarded both as a tribute of respect and devotion and a modest effort on the part of the disciple to emulate the Latin style of the preceptor. The Latinity of the epistle shows that the master's instructions produced fluency and graceful rhythm at least, and may serve us as a choice specimen of the Latin style of the great German pioneer in America:

Literæ Francisci Danielis Pastorii,  
 ex Pennsylvania.  
 Ad Tobiam Schumbergium, quondam  
 Præceptorem suum.  
*De Mundi Vanitate.*<sup>24</sup>

VAle Mundi gemebundi colorata Gloria  
 Tua bona, tua dona sperno transitoria  
 Quæ externè, hodiernè, splendent pulchra facie,  
 Cras venescunt & liquescunt sicut Sal in glacie.  
 Quid sunt Reges? quorum Leges terror sunt mortalibus,  
 Multi Locis atque focis latent infernalibus.  
 Ubi Vani, crine cani Maximi Pontifices?

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung Der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provinz Pennsylvaniae*. 1704. pp. 62-63.



Quos honorant & adorant Cardinales supplices.  
 Quid periti? Eruditi sunt Doctores Artium,  
 Quid sunt Harum, vel Illarum studiosi partium?  
 Ubi truces Belli Duces? Capita militiæ?  
 Quos accendit & defendit rabies sævitæ.  
 Tot & tanti, quanti quanti, umbra sunt & vanitas,  
 Omne Horum nam Decorum brevis est inanitas.  
 Qui vixerunt, abierunt, restant sola Nomina,  
 Tanquam stata atque rata nostræ sortis Omina.  
 Fuit Cato, fuit Plato, Cyrus, Cræsus, Socrates,  
 Periander, Alexander, Xerxes & Hippocrates,  
 Maximinus Constantinus, Gyges, Anaxagoras,  
 Epicurus, Palinurus, Dæmonax, Pythagoras.  
 Cæsar fortis, causa mortis, tot altarum partium,  
 Ciceronem & Nasonem nil juvabat Artium  
 Sed Hos cunctos jam defunctos tempore præterito,  
 Non est è re [?], recensere. Hinc concludo merito:  
 Qui nunc degunt, atque regunt Orbem hujus seculi,  
 Mox sequentur, & labentur velut Schema speculi.  
 Et dum mersi universi sunt in mortis gremium,  
 Vel Infernum, vel æternum sunt capturi præmium.  
 Hincce Dei jesv mei invoco Clementiam,  
 Vt Is sursum, cordis cursum ducat ad Essentiam.  
 Trinitatis, quæ Beatis summam dat Lætitiã.<sup>25</sup>

These Latin poems to Schumberg are introduced here to suggest the Latin atmosphere of the Gymnasium of Windsheim in which Pastorius acquired his preparation for the university. Pastorius dedicated to his old preceptor Schumberg his first book bearing an American imprint, entitled:

Vier kleine | Doch ungemeyne | Und sehr nutzliche | Tractätlein  
 \* \* \* \* Germanopoli | Anno Christi M.DC.XC.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> That this Latin epistle attracted attention among Pastorius' fellow Germans in America even after his death is seen from a copy of the major part of the letter found written in David Schultze's copy of Christoph Sauer's *Calendar* for 1756, now in the possession of Ex-Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, who kindly permitted the writer to compare the text with the original print. The copy was evidently made from the *Beschreibung*, as it agrees, as far as copied, with the print, except that the Schultze copy has "Preceptorem" in the title.

<sup>26</sup> The imprint is generally recognized to be fictitious. (Cf. S. W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown, Pennsylvania, etc.*, pp. 118, 121.)

Another indication of the intellectual alertness of Windsheim of this period is found in the rich collection of books stored in the library previously referred to in this chapter. Here are found many vellums that bespeak the scholastic intelligence reflected by Schumberg. Among the books of particular interest to us are a copy of Tentzel's series of publications, *Monatliche Unterredungen einiger guten Freunde von allerhand Büchern und anderen annehmlichen Geschichten etc.* (1689-1706), in which the earlier accounts of Francis Daniel Pastorius<sup>27</sup> describing the province of Pennsylvania and the life of this part of the new world, the original manuscript draft of Melchior Adam Pastorius' *Beschreibung des H. Reichs Stadt Windsheim*<sup>28</sup> and a printed copy of his *Fasciculus Rhythmorum*.<sup>29</sup>

The association of Pastorius with the sons of many old and influential German families while a student at the Gymnasium of Windsheim must have been of inestimable advantage to him in after years, had he remained to practice his profession in his native land. It is clear that he enjoyed the best educational opportunities which his country afforded, and that he must have had his eyes opened to the newest knowledge demanded by those who were afterwards to take foremost rank in the world of affairs.

#### *At the University.*

The German student of the seventeenth century had two periods of journeying ("Wanderjahre")—the years of study at various universities, and the years of foreign travel. The university study was not confined to one institution, but was pursued at a number of universities as at the present day. After finishing his university studies, the young Licentiate or Doctor went on a long journey into other lands to study the life and languages of

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Julius Goebel, *Zwei unbekante Briefe von Pastorius* (GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, N. S. II, 492-503).

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Chap. I (GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, IX).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*, Chap. I.

other peoples before entering upon his professional or academic career at home. Thus men like Martin Opitz, Paul Fleming, Andreas Gryphius spent the most profitable years of their lives in travel. The countries usually visited were Holland, France, Italy, Switzerland and England. Even the father of Pastorius visited most of these countries and we shall find Pastorius himself taking a similar tour with Johann Bonaventure von Bodeck.

Pastorius attended four great universities of his time—Altdorf, Strassburg, Basel, Jena, beginning and finishing his studies at his home university Altdorf. It has been possible with the sources still extant to trace with considerable detail his course at these universities.

### 1. *At the University of Altdorf.*

In the year 1668 Pastorius left Windsheim to enter the university of Altdorf. Here he matriculated with three of his fellow Windsheimers, July 31, as the following entry in the Matriculation Book<sup>30</sup> of the old university of Altdorf will show:

#### *M. Iulio.*

31. Johannes Matthaëus Stellwag. }  
 Johan. Joachimus Merckling. } Windshemio-Franci  
 Georg. Leonhartus Modelius }  
 Franciscus Daniel Pastorius, Sömerhusanus.<sup>31</sup>  
 10016 [Number of matriculant].

---

<sup>30</sup> The Matriculation Book of the University of Altdorf is now found in the Library of the University of Erlangen, where the Librarian kindly and most promptly placed them at the disposal of the writer in 1903. The heading under the year 1668 runs thus:

Designatio | Studiosorum, qui sub | Rectoratu Plurimum Reverendi  
 atque Excellentissimi | Viri. Un. M. Lucae Friederici Reinharts S. S. Theol.  
 | Prof. Publici et Ecclesiae Ministri S. Sunt inscripti a. d. 29 | d. 30 Junii 1668.  
 usque ad. d. 30 Junii, 1669.

The Matriculation Book has the following title:

In Nomine Nostri | Jesu Christi | Matricula | Facultatis Juridicae | in  
 Universitate | Altdorphina | Feliciter incipit | Ao Chi. | MDCXXIII [A copy  
 of the original is found in the Germanic Museum in Nürnberg.]

<sup>31</sup> According to custom Pastorius matriculated as from Sommerhausen, the place of his birth. This explains the term "Sömerhusanus."



TOWER AT ALTDORF IN 1903.  
(Church End of the Town.)



The university of Altdorf, or "Nürnberg University of Altdorf," as it was often called, had its origin in Nürnberg in the epoch of the Reformation, when the old city of Nürnberg was the centre of German handicraft and poesy under the influence of Albrecht Dürer and Hans Sachs. The institution had five distinct stages of evolution:

1. The *Gymnasium Aegidium* in Nürnberg, organized by the great colleague of Martin Luther, Philipp Melancthon, in 1526. Among the early teachers in the Gymnasium were Joach. Camerarius, Hel. Eoh. Hesus, Mich. Roting, Joh. Schoner and Joh. Böschenstein.

2. The *Gymnasium at Altdorf*, 1571-1575. With the decline of the Gymnasium in Nürnberg it was found advisable to move the school to the country. The proposal was made by Camerarius from Leipzig. Three places were suggested: Hersbruck, Engenthal and Altdorf. The last named was selected. The first Rector of the Altdorf Gymnasium was Valentin Erythræus, who was called from Strassburg. The old Nürnberg Gymnasium passed from a "Quadrivial" to a "Trivial" School.

3. The *Altdorf Academy*. In 1578 the Altdorf Gymnasium was granted academic privileges and in 1580 reinaugurated as an academy, with Philipp Camerarius, son of the above mentioned Joachim, as its first Procancellarius, and Joh. Thom. Freigius as its first Rector.

4. The *University of Altdorf*. The number of students at the Altdorf academy in the years 1620-1621 rose to some seven hundred. Accordingly the city fathers of Nürnberg in 1622 requested and obtained of Emperor Ferdinand II. the privilege of raising the academy to the rank of a university with authority to grant degrees in the faculties of Philosophy, Law and Medicine. The university was formally inaugurated in 1623.

5. *The Completion of the University by the Addition of the Faculty of Theology*. The privilege of granting degrees in Theology, at first withheld because of the turmoil of the Thirty

Years' War, was finally given in 1696, thus completing the four faculties of the university.

Thus we have the explanation why the great city of Nürnberg, the centre of German culture in the sixteenth century, had no university within its walls. It had a university, but it was located at Altdorf. Hence the term: "Nürnbergische Universität" for the University of Altdorf.

The University of Altdorf in Pastorius' time was one of the foremost academic schools of Germany, attracting to its halls not only the most select youth of Bavaria and neighboring countries, but from foreign lands as well. Students came from France, Lorraine, England, Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Prussia, Livonia, Bohemia, Hungary, Transilvania and even from Greece and Egypt.<sup>82</sup> Here the afterwards famous Wallenstein of Schiller's great drama *Wallenstein* matriculated under his proper name Waldstein in the year 1599, as the following record shows:

D. 29. Aug. 1599. Albertus a Waldstein, Baro Boh. [Dux Megapolitanus factus tandem violentam (sic!) mortem obiit Egræ 1634, 15. Febr.]<sup>83</sup>

The house in which Waldstein lived was still standing in 1903 much as it looked in 1600. Many anecdotes of Wallenstein's career as a student have been published by Wills.<sup>84</sup> Some fifty princes, counts and barons had been enrolled from the beginning of the university to Pastorius' time. Among them was the name of Franciscus, Baron in Limpurg, godfather of Pastorius. The university celebrated in grand style its centennial, in 1723, after the manner of Wittenberg (1704), Frankfurt-an-der-Oder

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Wills, *Geschichte u. Beschreibung*, p. 141.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Georg Andreas Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Nürnbergschen Universität Altdorf*. Altdorf, 1795, p. 142. The note in brackets was added by Wills.

<sup>84</sup> In *Historisch-Diplomatisches Magazin für das Vaterland und angrenzende Gegenden*, I, 221 ff.

(1706), Giessen (1707), Leipzig (1709), and Rinteln (1721). The account of the centennial was printed in a separate tome,<sup>85</sup> with a number of fine copper engravings. The prosperity of the university of Altdorf finally waned after the founding of the universities of Halle, Göttingen and Erlangen, and was finally discontinued or rather transferred and united with Erlangen in 1809. The old buildings still stand at Altdorf in a good state of preservation, little changed in external appearance, but are now used as a pædagogium or teachers' seminary. A number of views will illustrate the buildings as they appeared in Pastorius' time and at present.

The inner life of the university in the time of Pastorius will be of interest here. The Rector at the time of Pastorius' matriculation was Lucas Friedrich Reinhart. He was succeeded by Ernst Cregel (1669), Moritz Hoffmann (1670). The Rector in 1673, when Pastorius entered Altdorf the second time, was Johann Conrad Dürr. The Dean who presided at his disputation was Johann Anton Geiger, J. U. D. The Procancellarius for the years 1666-1692, including the period of Pastorius' studies, was Magnus Fetzzer.

Wills<sup>86</sup> gives the list of Rectors for the decade 1668-1676 as follows:

Lukas Friedrich Reinhart.  
D. Ernst Cregel.  
D. Moritz Hoffmann.  
Christoph Molitor.  
Johann Conrad Dürr.

<sup>85</sup> The book has the following title:

Acta | Sacrorvm Saecvlarium | qvae | Favente | Deo Immortali | sub  
Avspicatissimo Gloriosissimoqve Imperio | Caroli VI | Avgvstissimi atqve  
Invictissimi | Romanorvm Imperatoris | ex Avctoritate et Mvnificentia |  
Illustris | Senatvs Norimbergensis | A. D. III Kal. Qvinctil. A. S. R.  
CICICCCXXIII | Pio Solenniqve Ritv | Celebravit | Academia Altorfina. |  
Excvdebat | Iodoc. Gvil. Kohlesivs Acad. Typogr.

A copy of this book is to be found in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 41; also *Acta Sacrorum saecularium*, fol. 50.



D. Georg Reichart Hammer.  
 D. Jakob Pancratius Bruno.  
 Johann Christoph Sturm.  
 D. Johann Saubertus.

The faculties of Altdorf were composed of many men of world-wide fame. The Professors of Jurisprudence<sup>87</sup> were particularly noted for their erudition. It is only necessary to mention the names of Joh. Thom. Freigius; Hubert Giphanius (or von Giffen), jurist, philologist and philosopher all in one; Hugo Donellus (or Doneau), of Chatillon-sur-Saône, France; Peter Wesenbeck, of Antwerp, who won renown in Jena and Leipzig; Scipio Gentilis, an Italian and pupil of Donellus; Conrad and Nikolaus Rittershausen, father and son; Matthias Hübner, the Pommeranian; Wilhelm Ludwell (or Ludweil), whose opinion was sought by nearly every court of the empire; Ernst Cregel, of Pastorius' own time, who had been the first Professor of Public Law at Altdorf since 1657, Altdorf having had the distinction of being the first university in Germany to establish a separate chair for Public Law (*Jus Publicum*); and Christoph Wagenseil, who received a pension from Louis XIV., King of France, was a great authority on Rabbinical lore, the inventor of the "Wassertretter," and author of an encyclopedia, *Pera Librorum Juvenilium*, in six volumes.

The professors of Pastorius' time at Altdorf who were most prominent were: Reinhart (Theology, died 1688); Hoffmann (Medicine, d. 1698); Dürr (Ethics, Poetry and Theology, d. 1677); Cregel (Jurisprudence, d. 1674); Molitor (Oriental Languages, d. 1674); Bruno (Medicine); Textor (Jurisprudence, called to Heidelberg, 1673); Wagenseil (Jurisprudence and Oriental Languages, d. 1705); Sturm (Physics and Mathematics, d. 1704); Hammer (Jurisprudence, d. 1697); Saubert (Theology, d. 1688); Linck (Jurisprudence, d. 1696); Geiger (Juris-

---

<sup>87</sup>The details of the careers of Altdorf's great jurists may be found in *Vitae Professorum Juris qui in Academia Altorfina inde ab eius iactis fundamentis vixerunt-descriptae a C. S. Zeidler*. Nor. 1786, 1787. 4.



**THE UNIVERSITY OF ALTDORF IN 1723.**  
 (From "Acta Sacrorum Saecularium".)



**THE UNIVERSITY OF ALTDORF IN 1795.**  
 (With the addition of the Front Building.)



prudence, d. 1685); Moller (*Oriental Languages and History*, d. 1712). Pastorius mentions Reinhart, Dürr, Linck, and Geiger particularly in his manuscript accounts.

The custom of requiring the students to take the oath was in vogue at Altdorf. A different form of oath was administered to the students of the several faculties—one for Law, another for Medicine, still another for Theology, and even for the Masters and Poets Laureate. The following was the oath required of jurists:

Iuramentum Candidatorum in utroque Iure.

Ego N. N. juro, me ornamenta Doctrinæ, posteaquam ea hodie accepero, nequaquam amplius petiturum, nec ultro, a quibuscumque oblata, denuo recepturum: Largitione illicita, profusioneve, honoris huius consequendi gratia, nec usum esse, nec posthac usurum: Inclytæ Reipubl. Norimbergensis, ut et Vniversitatis Altorphinæ, filiæ ipsius, Ordinis præsertim Iurisconsultorum, honorem, commoda, utilitatem, quovis loco, quocunq; tempore, pro virili procuraturum: dignitatem comiter conservatarum: ornamenta honorum, a Iurisconsultis tribui solita, non collaturum, nec consensurum, ut tribuantur ei, quem eius gradus decore indignum ex fide mea arbitratus fuero: Nec etiam communi auctoritate probatum, sine consensu voluntateque ordinis, insignibus aucturum. Quod superest, boni viri officio in legibus potissimum interpretandis, jure respondendo, profitendo, advocando, agendo, defendendo, judicando, functurum: uti id juris, æquitatis, justitiæque consultum facere oportet et par est. Ita me Deus adjuvet!<sup>188</sup>

Students at Altdorf seem to have enjoyed very unusual academic freedom, especially in the earlier period. The excessive Pennalism, which had assumed alarming proportions, was quite effectually checked at Altdorf by the radical measures instituted against it in 1661, so that students were less subject to inhumanities than before. Traces of it were still in vogue, however, in Pastorius' time, as he speaks of the students initiating novices "with abundance of impertinent ceremonies." The carcer penal-

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 366.

A glimpse into the academic life of Altdorf can be found in B. Hartmann's *Kulturbilder aus Altdorfs akademischer Vergangenheit* (in *Mitt. d. Ver. f. d. Gesch. d. Stadt Nürnberg*. 1886).

ties were less severe here than at other universities. The life at Altdorf was especially agreeable, and living cheap. The climate was most favorable and the vicinity even romantic, because of its beautiful walks, such as the *Via Philosophica*, *Via Scipionis*, *Via ad Ruperti Fonticulum*,<sup>39</sup> *Poetenwäldgen*,<sup>40</sup> *Löwengrube*, and *Pfaffenthal*. The dress of professors and students before the second half of the seventeenth century was very simple. The wig was not worn by the professors before 1650. Even as late as 1671 the students demolished the wig which one of their number ventured to wear. The wig, however, came into vogue in the last decades of the seventeenth century. Both professors and students wore red gowns even to the lectures, and the older students carried swords and canes. The radical change in the costume about Pastorius' time may explain his leaving the university in 1673 to go to Jena, as he says, because "not liking the place for some reasons."

The economy of Altdorf student life in the seventeenth century must have been strikingly in contrast with that at most universities of to-day. In 1785 Professor König wrote that the Altdorf student could procure the necessaries, exclusive of clothing, for 300 florins a year, could live well for 400 florins, and sumptuously for 500 florins.<sup>41</sup>

The Altdorf students had little social diversion in the way of amusements, except such as they extemporized in amateur performances, and dances.

The spirit of Altdorf seems to have been exceptionally good. Wills writes more than a century after Pastorius' time even of the professors, that they had always lived harmoniously together and that the lecture room never became here, as at many other universities, a scene of personal hostility.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> Cregel married the widow of the Augsburg patrician Anton Welsler, who died in 1642. Cf. Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 293.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *Das akademische Lehrbuch für studierende Jünglinge*. Nürnberg, 1785, p. 406 ff., and Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, p. 273.

Pastorius gives the following brief but interesting account of his entrance to the university of Altdorf :

"Anno 1668, the 31st of July J went with some others to the University of Altdorf, there to be Jnnitiated among Students (which they call Deponiren) giving to those Novices with abundance of impertinent Ceremonies the Salt of Wisdom, Sal Sapientiæ, &c. and año 1670. the 11th of August to the University of Strassburg, where J studied the Laws & likewise made a beginning to learn French."<sup>42</sup>

The "some others" mentioned by Pastorius were, of course, the three Windsheimers, Stellwag, Merckling and Modelius, who matriculated the same day. Just what Pastorius studied at Altdorf he does not tell us in detail, but the fact that he specifies the "Laws" as his chief study at Strassburg would lead us to believe that he devoted himself to a more general curriculum, including the humanities, at Altdorf, the course quite generally pursued by German students in their first years at the university, and one to be strongly recommended to American students of our own time.

## 2. At the University of Strassburg.

According to the above cited account Pastorius left Altdorf in 1670 and entered the university of Strassburg in Alsace.

The Strassburg Matriculation Book contains the following entry:

Matricula Studiosorum Philosophiæ  
98. S. R. Saltzmann D.

1670  
Sept. 2 [2029]<sup>43</sup> 18. Johannes Matthaëus Stellwagen, Windsheimio-Francus  
2 (2030) 19 Franciscus Daniel Pastorius, Somerhusano-Francus.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222. It will be noticed that Pastorius has translated the Latin *Jura*, German *Rechte*, literally by the English plural "Laws," to designate both kinds of law, Canon Law and Civil Law, a conception still surviving in our title LL.D., Doctor of Laws, and the more discriminating English titles D.Cn.L. and D.C.L.

<sup>43</sup> Number supplied here from the series by the present writer.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *Die alten Matrikeln der Universität Strassburg 1621 bis 1793, bearbeitet von Gustav C. Knod.* Strassburg, Trübner, 1897 (I, 364).

He informs us in an unprinted manuscript <sup>45</sup> account that he went to Strassburg with Stellwag and Rosstauscher and took lodging and meals at the house of Johann Gumprecht. The same manuscript contains two accounts of his university study, one a more general sketch, the other full of interesting detail,<sup>46</sup> from which we draw the following facts:

After matriculating under the Rector Magnificus Saltzmann, September 2, 1670, he began, September 28, a course in the Institutes ("Collegium Instit") given by Ulrici, October 3 another in Ethics and Politics by Reinhard; in November he began to take French instruction of Monsieur Ritter; January 16, 1671, a course in the Institutes by Obrecht; March 16 he took lodgings with the Bookseller (Antiquarius) and meals with Frau Lucretia, but soon returned to Gumprecht, where he continued till his departure from Strassburg. In the months of April and May he continued his French lessons, with Monsieur Mirabeau. On the 13th of August he, together with Reinhard and Mercklein, began private lessons with Dd Schmaltz, paying 22 Reichsthaler for the year.

At Strassburg he entered a new academic atmosphere, for this city then, as in Goethe's time and to some extent even now, formed the cultural gateway between the German and French speaking peoples, in a word, between Germany and Romanic Gaul. That the French traditions were then strong in Strassburg is apparent from the fact that Pastorius devoted much time to the study of the French language with the evident determination to master it, for he kept up the study till the end of his stay in Strassburg, taking instruction of three teachers: Ritter, Mirabeau, Dutrue and possibly also Schmaltz, although he does not say explicitly that the "privat Information" given by Schmaltz was French.

<sup>45</sup> *Francisci Danielis Pastorij Res Propriae*, now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>46</sup> Entitled: "Additamenta zu vorgehendem meinem Lebens-Lauff von pag. 5."

It will be noted that Pastorius matriculated in the Faculty of Philosophy at Strassburg, although he distinctly states that he "studied the Laws." While he may have devoted some time to strictly philosophical courses, we find him busy from first to last with Jurisprudence. In addition to the courses in the Institutes under Ulrici and Obrecht, and the course in Ethics and Politics under Reinhard, he seems to have laid particular stress on the course in Public Law (*Jus Publicum*) under Boeckler. He refers to this as of service to him later in his study of the Imperial Code at Regensburg, where the Imperial Diet was held:

"J travelled unto Regensburg, where the Diet of the Empire was then kept [held], in order to be the fullier instructed in Jure publico, whereof J formerly was taught some certain principles by the renowned Dr. Böckler at Strassburg."<sup>47</sup>

### 3. *At the University of Basel.*

Pastorius states that he "visited" the University of Basel in July, 1672:

"July 13th 1672 made a tour with Mercklein, Litzheimer and Reichmann to Schlettstatt, Colmar and Basel."

It would appear from the use of the word "tour" ("Reis") and the fact that he took up a three months' course of French with Dutrué in Strassburg in the following August, that he must have returned to Strassburg by early August. He employed the English term "visited" evidently to translate the German "hospitierte," *i. e.*, attended lectures without matriculating. This is further corroborated by our failure to find his name among the matriculants of the University of Basel.<sup>47a</sup> In his own account of the journey to Basel he relates an incident which affords an inter-

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

<sup>47a</sup> Herrn Marion D. Learned, Philadelphia, beehre ich mich ergebenst mitzuteilen, dass der Name Franciscus Daniel Pastorius in den Jahren 1665-1676 in der Matrikel nicht vorkommt.

Hochachtungsvollst

Dr. C. Ch. Bernoulli, Oberbibliothekar.



esting view of the propaganda made by Roman Catholics to reclaim Protestants. It is quite likely that the Prior in this case was aware that Pastorius' family had apostosized and gone over to the Lutheran confession. The account runs as follows:

"Anno 1672. mense July J visited also the University of Basil & was by the way (at Schletstadt) strangely attacked by the Prior of a Monastery, to stay & to read over the Books of St. Augustin & these Patres that might convince me, &c."<sup>48</sup>

The incident reminds us of the futile effort of Pastorius' uncle, Johann Augustin Pastorius, and "some fiery Jesuits" to reclaim his father Melchior Adam Pastorius in Sommerhausen.<sup>49</sup>

#### 4. *Again in Strassburg.*

In August, 1672, Pastorius began a three months' course in French under Monsieur Dutrue. September 10th Professor Boeckler died in the midst of his lectures on Lampadius. November 25th Pastorius left Strassburg with Mercklein, Tauber and Flach and arrived on the 7th of December in Windsheim, where he remained until the following April.

#### 5. *Second Period at Altdorf.*

Having spent the winter 1672-1673 at home, Pastorius returned April 13th, to the University of Altdorf to continue his studies. He reached Altdorf April 14th and took lodgings with Heldmann and meals with Dr. Castner. Here he matriculated a second time under the Rector Magnificus Johann Conrad Dürr.<sup>50</sup> In the Matriculation Book of Altdorf we find the following entry for the year 1673 under date of April 16:

1673

Aprilis 16. Franciscus Daniel Pastorius, Sommerhusa-Francus.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Chapter I.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 12.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Designatio Studiosorum*, etc., for 1673.

This time he was matriculated as No. 11,311, showing that, since his first matriculation on the last day of July, 1668, five years before, 395 students had matriculated at the University of Altdorf.

Either the old student life at Altdorf or the old student himself, or both, had changed, as Pastorius was no longer contented with the uneventful life of the little university town.

6. *At the University of Jena.*

Accordingly he left in July to seek more congenial associations elsewhere. July 2d he accompanied Burgomaster Bühler to Nürnberg and continued his journey thence, reaching Erfurt July 8th, where he visited the "simple nun," his aunt Rebecca, and arrived in Jena on the 13th of July. Here he took lodgings with Frau Hofrat Mansonin and meals with the printer, Bauhoffer. He matriculated under the Rector Magnificus Johann Frischmuth, the Orientalist.

There seems to be a discrepancy between Pastorius' account of his going to Jena (July, 1673), and the official record of the Matriculation Book of the University of Jena. The latter gives the date of his matriculation as February 6, 1673, as the following letter from the Director of the Library at Jena informs us:

Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena.

Herrn Marion D. Learned, Philadelphia, beehre ich mich mitzutheilen, dass in der Universitäts-Matrikel folgender Eintrag sich vorfindet:

Pastorius, Franz Daniel, aus Windsheim i/Franken. 6 Febr 1673.

Der Direktor:

Dr. Brandis.

Jena 15/xii. 03  
Ausl. No. 440

In Jena Pastorius continued his study of Jurisprudence under Dr. Linck and began the study of Italian. He has left the following brief summary of his doings at this time:

"The 25th of November, eodem año [1672] J returned to Wins-

heim where J stayed all that winter, and the next 13th of April 1673 J went again to Altdorff, but not liking the place for some reasons, left it the 2nd of July, going to Nurnberg, thence to Erford, and so on to Jena, where J arrived the 13th of the aforesd month of July & continued the Study of the Laws, learning moreover of Dr. Carolo Caffa, the Jtalian Tongue, in which J publickly Disputed the 18th of April, 1674. upon some printed Theses inscrib'd dalle Leggi, as J had done before mense Januar. sub præsidio Doctoris Linckij ad lib. 3. Pandectarum."<sup>52</sup>

In his "Additamenta"<sup>53</sup> he furnishes the following details, which we give in abstract:

August 1st, after having made a short tour to Naumburg, he began lessons in fencing under Monsieur Elart. On the 3d of August he began the study of Italian under Carlo Caffa, and on the 7th a course in Chiromancy (Chiromantik) under Höpping. In November he entered a *Collegium in Scotani Exerc. Juris* by Dr. Heinrich Linck. In January, 1674, he disputed publicly Ad Lib. 3 II, also under Linck. March 1st he went to the blind M. Schmidt for both lodging and meals. April 18th he disputed Dalle Leggi in the Italian language, as we have seen above. May 31st he took a trip to Gotha, meeting Cancellarius Avenann and others. June 1st he began courses under Dr. Tillemann *Ad Schnobelium ad II* and *Fibigij Processum Jud.*

It will be a new and interesting fact to many that a student at the university of Jena disputed in the Italian language, and that such opportunities were afforded for the study of Italian at that time in Jena. The fact sheds much light upon the literary conditions of Germany at the time of the vogue of Marinism in the Second Silesian School of Poets—Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau, Caspar von Lohenstein and their disciples. The case of Pastorius was then not an isolated one to be explained by the fondness of his father, like Goethe's father, for things Italian, but must rather be regarded as typical, reflecting the interest of

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 12.

the Jenensians in the Italian language and literature in the epoch of the Marinistic movement in German poetry.

At Jena we see Pastorius rapidly approaching the close of his juristic studies, disputing under Dr. Linck, in January, 1674, and, as it appears, repeating the same disputation in Italian under Dr. Caffa on the 18th of the following April.

### 7. At Regensburg.

An important stage in Pastorius' studies, after leaving Jena, was his sojourn in Regensburg, where he had an opportunity to study the practice of the Imperial Code, as the Imperial Diet was convened in Regensburg at that time. His own account of the change from Jena to Regensburg and his return to Altdorf is quite explicit:

"Having from hence [Jena] viewed Naumburg, Gotha and other Towns of that Countrey J travelled unto Regensburg, where the Diet of the Empire then was kept,<sup>54</sup> in order to be the fullier instructed in Jure publico, whereof J formerly was taught some certain principles by the renowned Dr. Böckler at Strassburg. So therefore J lodged the greatest part with Dr. Völcker, Embassadour of Nurnberg and the rest of the Imperial Cities of Frankenland."<sup>55</sup>

In the "Additamenta" he furnishes the following facts concerning his stay in Regensburg:

"July 3d left Jena and August 4th arrived at Nürnberg. August 10th reached Regensburg, took quarters in the Green Wreath ('im grünen Krantz') and went with a number of Secretaries to a widow for meals till October 1st, when I went to the family of the Nürnberg Ambassador for both meals and lodging, where the Ambassador and his wife treated me very kindly. Here I continued French with Louys Brialmont for six months."<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> The word "kept" here is a Germanism, being a translation of the German word "gehalten." That the "Reichstag" (Imperial Diet) was in session is stated in the following:

"Nachdem ich nun von daraus [Jena] Naumburg, Gotha etc. besehen, reisete ich 31. July. nach Regensburg, umb auff daselbstigem Reichstag *Jura publica* desto besser zu ergreifen" (cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 6).

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 222.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 12. The original is in German, but here translated into English.

In April of the next year (1675), after a sojourn of some eight months, Pastorius left Regensburg for Bayreut and Windsheim, meeting his father and stepmother in Bayreut, as the following account informs us:

"April 16th 1675 left Regensburg by stage, arrived the 17th at Bayreut, found my last stepmother [there] and attended the wedding<sup>57</sup> of her sister. April 26 arrived with my father and aforementioned stepmother at Winsheim."<sup>58</sup>

### 8. *Third Period at Altdorf.*

After spending the remainder of the spring and summer of 1675 at home in Windsheim, Pastorius went the following September for the third time to the University of Altdorf to finish his study of Jurisprudence and take his doctorate or licentiate diploma. He gives the following succinct account of his last period at Altdorf:

"Sept. 27. went to Altdorf, had meals with Dr. Linck and lodging with Abr. Klinger, an armorer ("büchenschiffter").

Nov. 10th began a course with Dr. Linck on Eckoltus and a "disputatorium über Exercitat Ludwelli."

1676 March 29th, transferred my lodgings to the Kornerhansa. May 31. made a "circularen Disputat" under Dr. Linck. July 20 went to Nürnberg because of sickness. Aug. 22 to Gnademb[urg ?], and Sept. 26 returned to Nürnberg. Oct. 26 appeared before the Dean Dr. Joh. Ant. Geiger and the other Jurists, also Nov. 2nd before the Procancellarius Magnus Fetzer, after which the two examinations followed the 7th and 8th, and I disputed the 23d *de rasura Documentorum* for the doctorate."<sup>59</sup>

It will naturally seem strange that Pastorius on the eve of

---

<sup>57</sup> More specific details of this wedding are given in the Genealogical Sketch:

"Anno 1675: the 16th of April I rode the post to Bayreut, where Anna Maria Volckmann's (the eldest Sister of my present Stepmother,) was celebrating her Marriage with [Georg] Roth, Lehens-Secretary of that Marquisate of Brandenburg, and thence in a Coach with my parents down to Winsheim" (*Beehive*, p. 222).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. "Additamenta" (*Res Propriae*, p. 12).

<sup>59</sup> Cf. "Additamenta" (*Res Propriae*, p. 12). The original is in German.

his doctorate at Jena, should have returned to the University of Altdorf, which he had left in disgust two years before. At least two explanations may be found for this return. The first is that Pastorius left Jena for the opportunity to study the practice of the Imperial Code in the Diet at Regensburg. The second that his favorite professor at Jena, Dr. Linck, was called to a professorship at the University of Altdorf the last day of March, 1674, and succeeded the renowned Cregel in 1675 as Professor of Pandects.<sup>60</sup> This was doubtless the chief reason for Pastorius' return to Altdorf, even though he may have cherished a patriotic fondness for his first choice, the "Nürnberg University" of Altdorf, while studying at other universities. This is corroborated by the fact that Pastorius took quarters with Dr. Linck and finished his studies under him at Altdorf.

It may be that he found other reasons, during his study of the Jus Publicum at Regensburg and his associations with the Nürnberg Ambassador, for returning to Altdorf.

In the year 1676 we find the following entries in the Matriculation Book of the University of Altdorf:

1676. 1677. Johanne Antonio Geiger V. J. D. et Inst. Imper.  
 Prof: Publ: primum Decano, Candidati sequentes nomina  
 sua in hanc matriculam retulerunt:  
 D. 9. 9br. 1676. 236. Franciscus Daniel Pastorius, Sommer-  
 husâ-Francus, Disp: De Rasurâ Documentorum. d. 23. 9br:  
 cod. 777. 3.

The dissertation or inaugural disputation, as it was then called, was published by the university printer Heinrich Maier in Altdorf in 1676 with the following title:

<sup>60</sup> Cf. the following sketch of Linck's career:

Dn. Henricus Linck, Sorbiga Misn. I.V.D. Ex Academia Ienensi, in qua per sexennium privatim docendo Iuris Studiosis suam exhibuit fidem, a Perstrenuis ac Nobilissimis inclutae Reipubl. Noriberg. Scholarchis, Dominis suis benignissimis, ad functionem vocatus atque ult. die Mart. 1674, in numerum Dnn. Professorum cooptatus est. M. April. ejusdem anni, præmissa oratione inaugurali, ad Institutionum, subsequenti vero anno 1675, post obitum. Dn. Cregelii, ad Pandectarum Professionem pro virili exornandam cum Deo se contulit. Obiit Ao. 1696. (Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung*, pp. 334-335.)

Disputatio Inauguralis | De | Rasura Docu | mentorum, | Qvam,  
 | Divina suffragante Gratia, | Auctoritate | Magnifici | Jctorum  
 Ordinis | in Incluto Noribergensium Athenæo, | pro | Licentia |  
 Summos in Utroqve Jure Honores ac | Privilegia Doctoralia,  
 more Majorum, | rite capessendi, | Publico Eruditorum Examine  
 | sistit | Franciscus Daniel Pastorius, | Windtsheimensis. | D.  
 23. Novembr. A. ab incarnatione J. C. | C I D I C Lxxvi. | Alt-  
 dorffI, | Literis Henrici Maieri, Univ. Typogr.

The first twenty-one pages are devoted to the dissertation proper and the remaining three pages to the "Corollaria," or theses, twelve in number, and the poetic close of twenty-two Latin verses. The Corollaria are so arranged as to form the following acrostics with the initial of each corollary:

M. A. P. (I, II, III) = Melchior Adam Pastorius (the father).

D. E. V. (IV, V, VI) = Dorothea Esther Volckmanns (the stepmother).

F. D. P. (VII, VIII, IX) = Franciscus Daniel Pastorius (the author).

J. S. P. (X, XI, XII) = Johannes Samuel Pastorius (the brother).<sup>61</sup>

#### COROLLARIA.

##### I

Maritus in casum defunctæ uxoris alteri matrimonium absqve infamiæ macula neqvit promittere; licet illius mortem lugere Legibus haud obstringatur.

##### II

Adolescens, qvi invitæ Virgini osculum infigit, actione injuriarum non tenetur; Imo eum teneri responsum est in Scabinatu Lepsiens. Anno 1624.

##### III

Pactum, ut uxor imperio & dominatione gaudeat, nuptiarum contractui adjectum Naturæ refragatur atqve contra bonos mores est.

---

<sup>61</sup> In Pastorius' copy of the *Disputatio*, now in the possession of Ex-Governor S. W. Pennypacker, the key of the acrostic is given on the margin in Pastorius' own hand.

## IV

Delictum occultè nonnumquam augetur, nonnumquam minuitur,  
juxta hoc Apuleji: Qvod nemo novit, penè non fit.

## V

Etiam citra confessionem reum (V. Et.) de crimine testibus  
convictu capite posse puniri nullus dubito.

## VI

Vini à convivatore convivis in convivio traditi dominium ad ipsos  
equividem trahitur, sed revocabiliter.

## VII

Frater meus meam Sororem, cum ejus Soror non sit, legitimè  
in matrimonium sibi adsciscit.

## IIX

Dari homines, qui patrem non habent, in proclivi est.

## IX

Proffessores, Advocati, Doctores Literativè alii fabros, viatores  
& hujusmodi streperæ artis opifices, si secundum illorum ædes do-  
mos conducere aut mercari velint, officio Judicis non imquè repellunt.

## X

Justinianus Imperator Christianissimus, uti vocatur in l. 8. c. de  
Sum. Trinit. pœnam adulterii in feminis Nov. 134 c. 10. minus con-  
venienter mutavit.

## XI

Servos quosdam esse naturâ, cum Aristotele & servitatem esse  
contra naturam inductam cum JCtis adserere, non implicat contra-  
dictionem.

## XII

Propter osculum uxori Senioris libatum Vasallus fendo potest  
privari.

RAsuram loqueris scienter: Unde ars  
Radendi hæcce TIBI venit? profare.  
Tonsor non es, & ars novaculam non  
Tractandi est TIBI, nec puto capillos  
Posthac *radere* velle filiis TE  
Papæ; Tum neque habes caput gerisve  
*Rasum*, sicut adulter olim habebat,  
Ac omnis sceleratus & nefandus;  
Rasurum loqueris tamen bene sic.



Radendi ars TIBI quæso habetur ista  
 Unde? Nempe, TIBI rei capilli  
 Nil rasura facit, capit vel ipse  
 Hanc Mopsus: DOCUMENTI amas docere  
 RASURAM. Plato nunc eat, docendo,  
 Et *Rasam Tabulam* esse nunc Tuammet  
 Mentem, Discipulosque dicat ejus  
*Nudam!* Nam neque *rasa nudave* est meus,  
 Pastori, Tua: Plena quidpe Juris  
 Doctrina: *Documenta* magna præsto:  
 Quid Lector dubitas? Docent *Honores*  
*Novi*, quos Themis Ipsa sancta confert.  
 Voti haec sint documenta vera nostri  
     Sic Nobil. & Clarissimi Dn. Candidati,  
     Honoribus Novis iisque plane summis &  
     egregiis, vera & re-adplaudendo, adsurgebant,  
     Ejusdem Syssiti Linckiani.

(To be Continued.)

KONVENTION DES DEUTSCH-AMERIKANISCHEN  
CENTRAL-VEREINS VON PENNSYLVANIEN.

Concordia Hall, Wilkes-Barre, 8. Juni 1907,  
11.30 Uhr Vorm.

*Erste Sitzung.*

C. J. Hexamer, Präsident. A. Timm, Sekretär.  
Aufgerufen, spricht

FRIEDRICH BAARE, Hazleton, Luzerne Co.

*Herr Präsident, meine Herren!*

Vielen Dank für die mir ertheilte, herzliche Begrüssung. Ich bin kein Redner, und im Sprechen vor Versammlungen längst aus der Übung. In meinen jungen Jahren habe ich dazu hin und wieder Veranlassung gehabt und erfahren, dass der kurze Spruch, der den Nagel auf den Kopf trifft, der wirksamste ist. Im Anblick dieser Versammlung, in der die Vollkraft edlen deutschen Strebens in der Elite der heutigen Generation eines leitenden amerikanischen Staates sich darbietet, sagt mir die Rückschau auf die Blüthezeit jener Generation, unter der ich dieses Land betrat, dass unser Streben und Handeln nicht umsonst gewesen ist. Wir traten hier ein, willkommen geheissen in dem gastlichen Schoose eines starken, freien Volkes, das, ideale Ziele vor Augen, sich selber wohl eingestand, dass es aus dem Zustande einer Halbcivilisation noch nicht heraus war. Massen von Unkultur mit dem Anfluge der Dürftigkeit, Fülle von Geisteskraft, die nach Entwicklung rang, starrte uns entgegen, und mit dem Thatendrange jener epochemachenden Periode gingen wir rüstig an's Werk. Das Samenkorn von unserer Hand ausgestreut, es ging auf und fruchtete reichlich; der Funke, dem Geiste jener Zeit entsprungen, er hat gezündet, er ward zur Flamme; sie züngelt nicht, sie verheert nicht, sie lodert!

(235)

Gestatten Sie mir, beispielsweise — es geht eben nicht anders, das Ganze zu illustriren an einem nächstliegenden Bilde, in engerem Rahmen gefasst, und aus meinem eigenen Kreise heraus auch von mir selber zu sprechen. Als ich vor 55 Jahren nach langer Segelfahrt in dem Hafen von New York angelangte, bot der Backsteinklumpen, mit dem Strassendreck bis an die Knie, beim Pier No. 4 North River keinen sehr erbaulichen Anblick, und das Auge belebte sich hoffnungsvoll, als man nach dem New Jersey Ufer hinwies, wo die Umrissse zweier stattlicher, sauberer Gebäude schlossartig hervortraten und man mir sagte: Das ist Hoboken, da wirst du wohnen. Dort angekommen, stellten die Schlösser sich heraus als an einer Längsstrasse, von einer Querstrasse zur andern, in einer Flucht hingestreckte, kasernenartige Gebäude, drei Stock oberhalb und einer unterhalb der Erdoberfläche, mit flachem Dache, aus Ziegelstein mit Kalküberwurf gebaut, braun angestrichen, Blocks genannt. Durch innere Scheidewände in Abtheilungen von je 25 Fuss getrennt, bildete eine jede von diesen mit gesondertem Eingange, aufgetrepppt, ein Wohnhaus mit der für alle gleichen Zimmer-Eintheilung, Gypsbewurf der Zimmer- und Hausgangswände, weissgetüncht. Zur Heizung offene Kamine mit Geräth-Feuerung ohne Oefen, in der Küche eingemauerter Herd, Wasserleitung, heiss und kalt, mit Badezimmer und Kloset, Beleuchtung durch sogenanntes Burning Fluid. Kerosene noch unbekannt. Solches hiess man: A house with all the modern improvements. Diese Blocks führten den Namen: Terrace. Es waren ihrer vier, Eigenthum der Hoboken Land and Improvement Co., Joh. H. Stevens, Präsident, die sie erbaut hatte zur Schablone für den künftigen Ausbau der unter vorgeschriebenen Normalbedingungen zu errichtenden Stadt. Was war der Styl? In England war er mir nicht vorgekommen. Er erinnerte an Amsterdam — „gemischter Baustyl“ fiel mir ein aus Fenimore Cooper. Wie sah's denn eigentlich hier rund herum aus? Der Stadtbezirk, vormals Hudsoninsel, lagerte im Osten, durch Abdämmung gen Norden vom Strome getrennt,

der Länge nach an diesem, mit Stadt und Staat New York am jenseitigen Ufer. Von dem diesseitigen landeinwärts, die Weite von fünf, auf die Strecke von vier Blocks mit Häusern bebaute Längsstrassen entfernt, war Sumpf, bodenloser Sumpf, bis zum Rande des nach Süden auslaufenden Höhenzuges, dessen Rücken, bedeckt mit Wald, nur an einer, der mittleren Stelle, eine kleine Gruppe Holzhäuser zeigte. Die amerikanische Wildniss — man brauchte nicht weit danach zu laufen. Gleich hier in Jersey fing sie an.

Hoboken — der Name war in New York verpönt. Kein New Yorker wollte zugeben, jemals dort gewesen zu sein. New Jersey hiess: „Out of the United States.“ Sibilla's Cave, die Felsengrotte am Hudson-Strande mit dem kühlen Quell dem Passirenden zur Labe, das war der Ort, wo junge Mädchen, im Nachen von New York entführt, umgebracht wurden. Die Elisian Fields, der Hain mit dem Yacht Club drin, das war das verrufene Rendez-vous der Duellanten. Dort ging der Geist von General Hamilton um, den Aaron Burr im Zweikampf erschossen. Der Loafer, eine Schreckfigur, vor der war am hellen lichten Tage kein Mensch sicher. Doch der Irländer gab nichts um den Schnack. Zehntausende neuer Ankömmlinge von der „grünen Insel“ in den buntesten Farben aufgeputzt, führten allsonntäglich die beladenen Ferry Boats herüber. Im Schatten gelagert, genossen sie hier ungestört ihr Pic-Nic. Auch der Deutsche kam herüber in Schaaren, korb beladen, mit Kind und Kegel, sich über die Anhöhen zerstreugend auf der Suche nach einer guten, billigen Heimstätte.

Hoboken galt für ungesund; ein Fieberloch, nicht gemacht für Anglo-Amerikaner darin zu wohnen, kaum gut genug für Irländer mit ihren Pigs, höchstens noch für Dutchmen. — Wie sah die Stadtbevölkerung aus? Die angloamerikanische Männerwelt, der Kleidung und den Manieren nach, schofel. Es war, als sei die Dandy-Manie unter George IV. nunmehr in's krasse Gegentheil umgeschlagen, so schäbig, vertrackt und ungeschlacht

wie nur möglich zu erscheinen. Für unsere Charakterfigur des Uncle Sam: Blauer Schwalbenschwanz mit Messingknöpfen, Nankinhose, zerrissene Lackschuhe und Cylinderhut schief im Nacken, lief das Prototyp in allen Strassen, in den Hotels, in den Stores; den verbogenen Seidencylinder beständig auf dem Kopfe. Das Aermelloch des Eckenstehers war bezeichnend für den Ward-Politiker, den Gambler in Stocks und den Lobbyisten für Jobs. Bei dem Manne von guter Haltung und Kleidung durfte man sicher sein: Er war ein Deutscher. — Und die Sprache, die man hörte? Mit Schul-Englisch vertrug sie sich nicht. Kein Wort verstand ich, wie Yes und No, obgleich ich mit Engländern in der Heimath fliessend konversirte. Irish, sagte man mir, wäre es. Englisch wäre nur für die Kirchen und das Court House. Deutsch jedoch kursirte frei in allen Dialekten. Bierhäuser aber gab es erst noch sehr wenig. Engel & Wolf in Philadelphia galt als erste Quelle. Bei meinem Schwager und prospektiven Partner, Julius G. Garelly, in No. 1 Washington Terrace temporär installirt, begegnete mir als erster Deutscher ein Arzt. Er hiess, wie unser verehrter Herr Präsident, Dr. Hexamer. Des letzteren Aehnlichkeit mit ihm in Statur, Haltung, Gesichtszügen und Wohllaut des Organs frappirte mich heute. Er war mir die frohe Wiedererscheinung des Oheims in dem Neffen. Kürzlich verheiratet, war Jener eben im Begriff, seine in Hoboken beschränkte Praxis mit einer ausgedehnteren in New York zu wechseln, und bot mir seine am andern Ende des Blocks gelegene, hübsch möblirte Wohnung zur Uebernahme an. Ich schlug ein, bezog sie sofort. Er siedelte über nach Amity Street, wir wurden und blieben Freunde. Sein Andenken erfrischt sich mir hier angesichts seines Neffen.

Der zweite Deutsche, der sich mir, und zwar als Geschäftsfreund, näherte war wiederum ein Hexamer, Wilhelm hiess er, Bruder des Arztes, Architekt und Zivil-Ingenieur, beide Brüder, und noch ein dritter und vierter, durch die Stürme von Achtundvierzig und den badischen Aufstand an diese Gestade geworfen.

Eines Sonntagmorgens, dem dritten in November, trat er in Wasserstiefeln bei uns ein, Garelly zu einem Streifzug zu Landverbesserungszwecken abzuholen. Kostumirt wie Beide, und mit Handbeil versehen, machte ich mit. Von Meadowstreet ab kreuzten wir über einen auf eingerammten Pfählen ruhenden Brettersteg den Sumpf, erklimmen die Hügelwand und befanden uns auf der Landstrasse von Bergen Court House, Pallisade Avenue genannt. Dort am jenseitigen Waldrande stand einsam und alleine die neu und elegant gebaute Hütte eines Landagenten mit der Aufschrift: Luxton Landoffice. Von Mister Luxton orientirt, schlugen wir uns durch die Büsche nach unserem Ziele, einer verlassenen Farm am jenseitigen Hügelrande, der Weavertown Turnpike. Hier wurde geplant für den Ankauf eines zu Bauzwecken abgesteckten Grundstücks mit dem Beschluss, anderntags mit den Eignern in Unterhandlung zu treten, was auch geschah. Von da ging's nördlich die Weavertown Road zu Ende nach Union Hill, der schon bereits von meinen Führern käuflich erworbenen und von Hexamer in Stadtplan ausgelegten Farm. An der von Hoboken kommenden Hackensack Plankroad, von der Weavertown- bis zur Weehawken Turnpike nördlich gelegen, hatte sie dem Italiener Cantalo gehört, der darauf Seidenbau und Entenzucht betrieben und sie 1844 an Enoch Durar in Philadelphia verkauft hatte. Von diesem war sie 6 Jahre darauf für die von Garelly als Präsident und Hexamer als Sekretär organisirte und als die Hudson County Real Estate Co. inkorporirte, deutsche Aktiengesellschaft zum Preise von 55,000 Dollars auf Abzahlungsraten gekauft. Ertheilung des Besitztitels sollte bei Entrichtung der letzten Rate, und nicht früher, erfolgen. Die Stadtlots in der gleichförmigen Grösse von 25 x 100 Fuss, waren durch je eine mit der Nummer des Lots versehene Aktie repräsentirt, deren Besitz durch Anzahlung von 3 Dollars und das Zahlungsverprechen von monatlich 3 Dollars bis zur Schuldentilgung erworben wurde, und den Inhaber zur Besitznahme des Lot berechtigte. Der Vollpreis des Lot kalkulirte sich bei planmässiger Abwicklung des ganzen Geschäfts auf ca. 30 Dollars.

Ich fand die Strassen schon ausgelegt, die Gradirung und Nivellirung noch im Gange, einige neue Holzgebäude neben den alten Cantalo Farmhäusern zu Wohn- und Store-Zwecken schon errichtet, prominent unter ihnen eine Lagerbierbrauerei in vollem Schwunge, gedrängt voll von Sonntagsgästen. Mit dem Stadtplane in der Hand umringten sie Hexamer, ihnen ihre Lots finden zu helfen. Er war der meistgesuchte und bestgeplagte Mann. Andern Morgens besuchte ich ihn in Hoboken in seiner Surveyors-Office in Washington Street. Emsig über'm Reissbrett arbeiteten seine Zeichner unter lärmenden Auftraggebern, die ein Jeder zuerst bedient sein wollten. Fragen wurden gestellt, oft die allerdummsten, und an Scheltworten fehlte es auch nicht. Hexamer, mit nie fehlender Schlagfertigkeit, hatte ein freundliches Wort und den richtigen Bescheid für Alle, hier eine Auskunft gebend, dort eine Anordnung treffend, oder einen neuen Entwurf aus dem Stegreif entwickelnd. Es war, als drängten 10 Gegenstände auf einmal auf ihn ein, und er bemeisterte sie alle. Kaum angedeutet, standen die Cottages, die Wohnhäuser, die Stores mit Veranden, Friesen und Schnörkeln schon auf dem Papier, mit Kostenüberschlag und Spezifikation fix und fertig. So bedeckte sich jener Hügel im Umsehen mit einem amerikanisch-deutschen Stadtbilde nach Hexamer's einheitlicher Idee, und würde diese maassgebend für die Gebilde des ganzen County, dessen Surveyor er wurde. Als City Surveyor besorgte er die Pflasterung, die Drainage. Das County überzog er mit einer Pferdebahn. Am östlichsten Ende der Stadt, der 6. Strasse, zwischen Washington und Bloomfield Streets errichtete er 1853 den ersten selbständigen Komplex von acht Wohnhäusern aus Backstein nach den neuesten Erfordernissen, Gaslicht einbegriffen, in seinem Styl.

Das Jahr 1853, das erste, seit langer Whig-Periode, unter demokratischer Administration, war ein flottes. Alle Zügel flogen frei. Jede Hand war beschäftigt; Verdienst war gut. Sorglos blickte man in die Zukunft und rechnete nach dem Maas-

stabe des Augenblicks nur mit dem Fortschritt. Der folgende Sommer schon brachte die Stockung. Ein Rückschlag traf das Land, eine Geldklemme trat ein, die erste, die unsere neue Einwanderung erlebte, die als die Drygoods Crisis von 1854 in den Annalen vermerkte. Ein Stillstand befiel das Bauwesen, die neuen Häuser standen leer und blieben es für lange. Freund Hexamer litt schwer unter dem Drucke. Der letzte Zahlungstermin für Union Hill war fällig, doch die Aktien-Einzahlungen kamen nicht mehr. Meine Firma, stark betheilig, hatte in die Bresche zu treten. Mit Hexamer als Begleiter holte ich mir von Enoch Durar in Philadelphia gegen Zahlung der letzten 10 Prozent den Warrantee Deed für Union Hill, ausgestellt auf die Hudson County Real Estate Co., und behändigte ihn derem Sekretär, Wm. Hexamer. Jetzt erfolgte freie Deed-Ausgabe seitens der Company an die Aktionäre, und das Bauwesen nahm belebten Fortgang, nicht aber die Aktienzahlung. Ein jeder Aktionär hatte ja nun sein Recht. Die Pflicht — war doch ganz was anderes.

Das Jahr darauf überraschte mich die Kunde, Häuser und Lots einer Anzahl von Aktionären seien gerichtlich mit Beschlag belegt und zum Sheriffs-Verkauf in Zeitungen angekündigt. Noten der H. C. R. E. Co., von Wm. Hexamer, Sekretär, ausgegeben, waren die Grundlage zur Exekution stehenden, gerichtlichen Urtheils, und ganz Union Hill mit Allem drauf und dran, war dafür in Anspruch genommen. Die Aktionäre tobten. Sie schwuren Hexamer Tod und Teufel. Der District Attorney von Hudson County war mein erprobter Freund, ein ebenso tüchtiger, junger Advokat in Jersey City mein erprobter Gegner. Sie beide belehrten mich bald, Union Hill, durch Verschulden seiner Aktionäre, stehe in drohender Gefahr, von Sharpers aufgerieben zu werden. Es gebührte ihnen eigentlich eine heilsame Lektion. In ihren sonderbaren Begriffen von einem freien Lande hielten diese Ankömmlinge Alles für erlaubt, und liessen ihrer Willkühr freien Lauf. Aber sie seien doch ihre Klienten,



deren Unkenntniss gegen Ausbeutung zu schützen die Vernunft ihnen gebiete. Dies könne aber nur geschehen, wenn sie Vernunft annähmen unter sich selbst. Die Lage war diese:

In New Jersey besteht ein Gesetz gegen Lotterie. Unter diesem entschied vor einem Jahre die Supreme Court einen Fall, und die Court of Errors and Appeals bestätigte ihn letzten März mit dem Urtheil, dass die Auslegung eines Stück Landes in Stadtparcellen gleicher Grösse und deren Vertheilung an Käufer zu dem gleichen Preise für jede derselben mittels Ziehung von Loosen eine Lotterie sei. Alle unter solcher Theilung gegebenen und empfangenen Deeds seien ungültig, eine Nullität.

Die Vertheilung von Union Hill hatte an einem Weihnachtsmorgen durch solche Ziehung ganz offenkundig stattgefunden, die darauf von der H. C. R. E. Co. an ihre Aktionäre ausgegebenen Deeds galten nichts, und die Company selbst war Besitzer des Ganzen nach wie vor. Für die Deckung der erlangten Urtheile und der übrigen, schwebenden Schuld an verschiedene Contrahenten war ganz Union Hill haftbar. Die ganze Last von einer Vertrauensperson unter der Hand ankaufen, von dieser gerichtlich und durch den Sheriff eintreiben, und durch Letzteren an die Aktieninhaber gegen Zahlung des Schuldanteils mittels Deed übertragen zu lassen, war durch die Nothwendigkeit geboten. Die Aktionäre, in Extra-Generalversammlung zu dieser Ueberzeugung gelangt, drängten nach Vollziehung, zu der, *nolens volens*, ich mich hergeben musste. Hexamer wurde natürlich, wie seine Mitbeamten, exonerirt. Gedeckt durch zwei von mir gewählte Grundbesitzer als Beigeordnete, gelang mir die Sache, mühsam zwar und langwierig, doch ohne Hinderniss. Auf Weihnachtsmorgen 1857 ward auf mein alleiniges Gebot von \$6.25 (sechs und ein Viertel Dollar), der Umlagebetrag pro Lot inclusive Kosten, ganz Union Hill, Lot für Lot, vom Sheriff mir zugeschlagen, und dieser ertheilte seine Deeds, ausgestellt auf die Namen der von ihm genannten Personen. Dies gab der Gründung von Union Hill, der jetzigen Seidenfabrikstadt Town

of Union, ihren sicheren Halt, und der Name des Mannes, dem vor Allen die Ehre gebührt als ihr Gründer, ist William Hexamer.

In Hoboken, unserem Wohnorte, ward inzwischen auch der deutschen Einwohnerschaft das Bedürfniss nach einer gemeinsamen Schulanstalt rege. Der Wunsch, die zahlreichen kleinen Privatschulen unter einen Hort zu vereinigen, blieb aus Rücksicht auf den verdienten Inhaber der vornehmlichsten unter ihnen unausgesprochen. Als aber dieser seine eigene Gründung preisgab und sie unter englische Leitung fiel, fand der Gedanke sofort Ausdruck. In 1858 berief der Vorstand der Concordia, eines Gesangsvereins gemischten Chors, eine Versammlung, die sich alsbald unter dem Titel „Akademischer Verein“ zu einer Gesellschaft zu Errichtung und Unterhaltung einer dem Ziele einer Realschule mit Elementar- und oberen Klassen entsprechenden, deutschen Lehranstalt formirte. Der Auftrag des Entwurfs einer Konstitution ward mir zutheil, und ich entledigte mich dessen mit Hinzuziehung eines Komitees von drei Fachmännern an dem nächsten Samstagabende. In der Niederschrift von meiner Hand ward er abgedruckt, und vor der nächsten Sitzung unter die Mitglieder vertheilt. Mein Exemplar bewahrte ich auf und brachte es mit für unsern Herrn Präsidenten. Mit Ihrer gütigen Erlaubniss? Hier ist es, die nach Diskussion erfolgte Annahme in Letterndruck daneben. Das erforderliche Kapital hatte auf Ausgabe von Aktien zu \$10 zu beruhen, deren Inhaber, ohne Rücksicht auf deren Anzahl in seinem Besitze, zu einer Virilstimme nur, und nur dann berechtigt war, wenn er die Mitgliedschaft des Akademischen Vereins erlangt hatte. Die Ziehungen hatten in der ersten Woche den Betrag von \$3000 erreicht, wonach der Beschluss gefasst und ausgeführt wurde, zwei günstig gelegene Baulots zu bestmöglichen Bedingungen zu erwerben, und die Konkurrenz für den Bauplan und Voranschlag für ein siebenklassiges Schulhaus mit Aula auszuschreiben. Der Preis ward Wm. Hexamer zuerkannt, und dieser mit der Aufführung des

Baues beauftragt, der, soweit wie bestimmt, im Frühjahr 1861 vollendet übergeben wurde. Das Lehrerkollegium mit dem Direktor an der Spitze war angestellt, der Tag der Einweihung war festgesetzt. Da traf ich eines Morgens im Hause eines Freundes in Washington Street den Dirigenten der Concordia, Herrn F. A. Sorge, den Töchtern, Sopran und Alt, Gesangunterricht ertheilend. „Haben Sie schon ein Thema für das Einweihungskonzert?“ fragte ich ihn. „Leider nein“, war die Antwort. „Was meinen Sie zu der Schöpfung?“ „Ach, die ist ja doch viel zu schwer.“ „Gerade weil sie schwer ist, dürfte sie ein Sporn für uns sein. Es ist Ruhm dabei zu holen. Vor einem Jahre noch schien uns die Glocke schwer. Wie hat sie uns emporgehoben! Wir fühlen uns. Das Kleinzeug schmeckt nicht mehr. Der Eifer scheint zu erschlaffen. Zeigen Sie uns ein hehres Ziel, ein ideales. Excelsior! Haydn's Schöpfung — sie soll die unsrige krönen. Aufschreien lassen Sie uns: „Es — wer-de — Licht!“ Nun denn, meinethwegen. Und Sie, meine Damen, machen Sie mit?“ „Gewiss, wenn's der Papa erlaubt.“ — Die Erlaubniss ward erlangt, alle Gesangkräfte Hobokens traten bei. Die Einübung ging gut. Dem beschränkten Raume von Odd Fellows' Hall musste ein Orchester angepasst werden. Das klassische Streichquartett aus Steinway Hall: Theo. Thomas, Mosenthal, Bergmann und Wehmeier, mit Orgel unter Professor Timm von der Philharmonia, gab seine Zusage. Sopran sang uns Frau Schröder-Dümmmler; Alt, Frau Anschütz-Zimmermann; Tenor, Wilh. Steinway; Bass (?) aus Brooklyn, eine Pracht-Acquisition. Für den englischen Theil des Auditoriums besorgte ich den Text in Englisch. Mit dessen Abschrift in fetter Dinte von meiner Hand, fertig zum Steindruck, kam ich zu Hexamer ihn bittend um den Aufriss zur Schulfronte. „Wozu denn das?“ „Für mich zum Abzeichnen hier auf dies Blatt.“ „Ach, geben Sie her, das habe ich im Kopf.“ Das Blatt mir aus der Hand nehmen, ein Schritt an's Pult, ein Paar Federstriche — und da stand's. — Und hier, Herr Präsident, da steht's noch

heute, von der Hand Ihres Oheims, und die Handschrift darüber — ist meine.

Die Aufführung bei überfülltem Hause — Korridor, Treppen, Alles war voll; auf der Strasse selbst drängten sie sich — war ein ungeahnter Erfolg. Während dem herrlichen Wechselgesang des Finale erscholl aus dem Gedränge dicht hinter mir in der offenen Thür ein gellender Pfiff. „Junge, willst Du gleich!“ Ein Griff, und ich hatte ihn am Krips, ihn an die Luft zu setzen. „O, for God's sake, sir!“ winselte der Bengel, und umklammerte meine Knie; „for God's sake leave me here. O, how beautiful! I couldn't help it.“ Die Extase des Applaus, fiel's mir ein. Den Jungen hochgehoben, hielt ich ihn so bis zum Schlusse. — Fritz Kapp, Dr. Wilh. Löwe, Carl Anschütz, aus dem Auditorium, schüttelten freudestrahlend mir die Hand.

Der Ernst der Zeiten trat wiederum heran, diesmal auf's bitterste. Die Secession brach aus. Der Staat rief seine Milizen. Um diese hatte es zu Anfang traurig ausgesehen. Ein Trunkenbold in unserem County war ihr General, keiner von der Rasse Grant, von der Abe Lincoln wissen wollte: „What brand of whiskey it is he uses.“ Es war — ich schweige. Die Deutschen hatten ihr eigenes Korps, die Hudson Rifles, ihre eigene Schwadron, einexerziert von Garely, preussischer Husar, ihre eigene Feldbatterie, kommandirt von Hexamer. Sie rückten aus. Die Concordia gab acht ihrer besten jungen Männer, darunter zwei Brüder Brück, dem Obrist Blenker mit in's Feld. Bei Bull Run standen sie, die Flucht der Geschlagenen deckend, in der Vorhut. Surrender! schreit's und — Fire! — Da lag die Black Horse Guard, und kehrt machte der Nachtrupp. Damn the Dutch! — Leutnant Brück war's, der kommandirte. Ein Bein liess er den Rebellen, auf dem andern kam er vergnügt nach Haus, wieder in seine alte Buchhalterstelle bei Bölting. Die Batterie Hexamer erntete Ruhm. Als Colonel kehrte er, nach Appomattox erst, heim, zurück in seinen Beruf. Die Weehawken Turnpike in einen Boulevard zu verwandeln, war er, von Union Hill herab,

auf abschüssiger, holpriger Fahrt. Da brach sein Wagen. Der zersplitterte Schaft verletzte ihm die Brust. Noch einmal nahm ich die Gelegenheit wahr, ihm einen Freundschaftsdienst zu leisten; darauf drückte er mir die Hand. Dann trieb's mich fort zu anderen Aufgaben, und wir sahen uns nicht mehr.

Hier sollte und möchte ich schliessen. In Erwägung aber unserer heute besprochenen Pflichten gegen die deutsche Schule hierzulande und der für sie zu begehenden Schritte, fühle ich mich gedrungen, einen Rückblick zu werfen auf den Gang der Hoboken Academy, die in ihren Anfängen als Bild der Nachfolge galt für die Union, und aus der selbst für den Lehrerbund und das deutsche Seminar eine starke Initiative hervorging. Gab sie doch dem Letzteren in bedenklicher Zeit seinen ersten Direktor. Ich, für mein Theil, in meinem Berufe nach anderen Richtungen und an anderen Orten auf's stärkste in Anspruch genommen, konnte der Akademie seit ihrer Gründung zu ihrer Führung und Erhaltung einen aktiven Dienst nicht widmen. Nie aber liess ich ihren Fortgang ausser Acht, und wie die Aufforderung mich traf, in Bedrängnissfällen zu erscheinen, leistete ich Folge. Das letzte Mal, dass dies gescheh—es war von Paterson aus—war es gefolgt von mich tiefbetäubenden Erfahrungen. Bis jetzt habe ich sie verschwiegen, diesen Augenblick aber drängen sie sich mir auf die Lippen.

Es handelte sich um nichts Geringeres, als um den Antrag des Vorstandes bei der dafür berufenen Extra-Generalversammlung auf Absetzung des Schuldirektors, Dr. Schoeder. Ich hatte den Herrn als Mann und in seiner Wirksamkeit als Lehrer kennen und schätzen gelernt und nie ein Wort des Tadels über ihn gehört. Die Anklage und ihre Prüfung ergab, dass der Vater eines renitenten Schülers zum Direktor gekommen war, ihn zu ersuchen, Strafmassregeln gegen seinen Sohn anzuwenden. Bei einer schweren Veranlassung hatte der Direktor einige Stunden gewöhnlichen Karzerarrest über ihn verhängt. Der Vater hatte hierüber bei dem Vorstande dringend Klage erhoben, auf deren

Grund ganz allein der Antrag auf Absetzung fusste. Keine der Kreuz- und Querfragen war im Stande, der Anklage eine andere, als diese eine Ursache abzurufen. Dass sie eine gesuchte und schwer zu finden gewesen war, musste jedem Unbefangenen einleuchten. Um dem versteckten Grunde auf die Spur zu kommen, wandte ich mich an den Präsidenten des Vorstandes, Herrn H. A. Meier, mit der Frage, was er als Vertreter des Norddeutschen Lloyd dächte, dass aus diesem Rhederei-Institute werden sollte, wenn dessen Offiziere in Ausübung ihres Berufs so kleinlich gemassregelt werden dürften. Ich zeigte ihm die Schwere des Missgriffs, als seiner Person nicht würdig, und bat ihn dringend, den Antrag weiter zu begründen oder fallen zu lassen. Vergebens; die abgekartete Sache stand fest, und mit kühlem Grimm bestand man auf Abstimmung. Diese erfolgte natürlich auf Verwerfung. Der Vorstand, hierauf vorbereitet, erhob sich und verweigerte einstimmig seinen weiteren Dienst. Nochmals remonstrirte ich, aber vergebens. Die Resignation ward angenommen. Ich beantragte nun ein Dankesvotum für seither geleistete, treue Dienste. Mein Antrag ward nicht unterstützt, dagegen einer auf sofortige Wahl eines neuen Vorstandes angenommen. Sie geschah durch Ernennung aller Vorgeschlagenen, mit Alexander P. Schem als Präsidenten. Dieser sagte mir nach aufgehobener Sitzung, dies ist ein Pyrrhus-Sieg. Mit dem Vorstande in dieser Zusammensetzung lässt sich nicht arbeiten. Der Ausgang nach einer Woche war der briefliche Dank an mich von Dr. Schoeder, mit der Erklärung, er sei der aufreibenden Chikane müde und trete von seinem Amte zurück. An seine Stelle kam ein Herr, der für ein anderes wissenschaftliches Feld gebildet, der Errichtung und Führung einer Privatschule in Long Island, N. Y., einen Ruf als Schulmann verdankte. Alexander P. Schem, leider, starb bald darauf, und mit ihm verlor ich mit der Hoboken Academy Fühlung, denn man hörte auf, mir pflichtgemäss die jedem Mitgliede schuldigen Anzeigen und Berichte zu schicken, obwohl ich wiederholt darum einkam. Als ich kürz-

lich veranlasst wurde, die Söhne mir befreundeter Familien im Deutschen zu unterrichten, schrieb ich an den Direktor der Hoboken Akademie mit der Bitte um ein Verzeichniss der in der Anstalt gebräuchlichen deutschen Lehr- und Lesebücher gegen Vergütung für das Bemühen. Ohne Antwort, liess ich ein zweites Gesuch postregistrirt folgen, bekam ein Return-Receipt mit der Signatur eines Unterlehrers als einzige Erwidering. Auf Wiederholung der Bitte unter Meldung des Vorfalls an den Präsidenten des Vereins, Herrn Dr. W. T. Kudlich, erhielt ich ein Schreiben in Englisch von W. F. Knox, Principal Ph. D., versichernd, dass er zu sehr beschäftigt sei, aber doch sorgen wolle, dass ich die Liste bald bekäme. Ein vierter Brief ward nöthig, worin ich fragte, ob er nicht einen Pedell hätte, oder einen Schüler der Mittelklasse, der sich gegen den einliegenden Dollar Belohnung der Viertelstunde der Abschrift der Titel der deutschen Schulbücher für mich unterziehen würde. Ich würde dadurch der Mühe überhoben sein, mir die Liste persönlich zu holen. All dies in Englisch, Couvert an Herrn Dr. W. T. Kudlich geschickt, brachte Willfahung und pränumerando später Express-Sendung von zwei Serien der Bücher. Dergestalt lohnt die Hoboken Akademie und der Akademische Verein *von heute* dem Gründer. Das Lehrerkollegium, anfangs mit dem Direktor deutsch und durchweg männlich, hat eine Metamorphose erfahren in's Anglikanische und Weibliche. Ob dies dem Ideal der Vorfahren entspricht? Ich deutete kürzlich im Schreiben an einen hochgeehrten, lieben Freund und früheren Mitarbeiter darauf hin. Er erwiderte: Wir können wohl die U. S. nicht germanisiren; so werden wir wohl gestatten müssen, dass unsere Enkel anglisirt werden. — Das ist nun allerdings Geschmacksache, über die sich nicht streiten lässt. In Gedanken aber sage ich mir: „Wenn in anderen 50 Jahren jeder junge Amerikaner so anglisirt sein wird, wie die Enkel dieses lieben Freundes es heute sind, dann ist Amerika germanisirt.“

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMAN AMERICANA FOR  
THE YEAR 1906.

WILLIAM GODFREY BEK.

*Die Gartenlaube.* Nos. 7, 8, 9, of 1906. Bilder aus der Entwicklung von Nordamerika. Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg.

No. 12. Karl Schurz, deutscher Freiheitskämpfer und amerikanischer Staatsmann. Karl Blind.

No. 16. Aus den Erinnerungen eines deutschen Ansiedlers in Südbrasilien.

No. 20. Klein-Deutschland in Südbrasilien. Wolfgang Ammon.

*Die Glocke.* Vol. I. No. 1. Der Kampf um die Einheit in Deutschland und in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Hermann Oncken. — Willkommene Gäste (Professoren-Austausch). — Die Welt der Bretter. Edmund Deusz. — Unsere Künstler. Edmund Deusz. — Der deutsch-amerikanische Nationalbund der Vereinigten Staaten. Emil Mannhardt.

Nos. 1, 2 and 3. Eine Fahrt deutscher Künstler in's Land der Azteken. Ferdinand Welb.

No. 1. Caspar Butz. — Ein Dichterleben. Martin Drescher.

No. 2. Goethe und die neue Welt. Martin Drescher. — Das Sigel-Denkmal in St. Louis. Edna Fern. — Goethe's Briefe aus Leipzig an seine Schwester. Arthur Altschul. — Ernst Schmidt: Ein Characterbild. Martin Drescher. — Benjamin Franklin. Emil Mannhardt. — Die amerikanischen Ritter vom deutschen Geiste. L. Viereck.

No. 3. Deutschland und das amerikanische Deuschtum. "Amicus." — Das verflossene Bühnenjahr. Edmund Deusz. — Eduard Dorsch. — Ein Gedankenlyriker. Otto C. Schneider. — Verband deutscher Schriftsteller in Amerika.

No. 4. Würdige Trauerfeier (Schurz). E. D. — Unser Colonial-Regiment in Porto Rico. Sigmund Krausz. — Er-



innerungen an Hermann Raster. Rud. Puchner. — De La Salle (Poem). Karl Gundlach. — Eine Anregung. Wie kann dem Amerikaner das deutsche Vereinsleben am besten vor Augen geführt werden? — In Memoriam (Carl Schurz). Carl Mauch. — Akademischer Ideenaustausch. Hugo Münsterberg. — Henrik Ibsen, der Bekenner. Martin Drescher.

No. 5. Poem: Die Spartanerin (Carl Schurzes Mother). Martin Drescher. — Carl Schurz. Otto C. Schneider. — Erinnerungen an Carl Schurz. William Taussig. — Carl Schurz als Amerikaner. Marion Dexter Learned. — Carl Schurz, der Deutschamerikaner. Otto Heller. — Carl Schurz bei der Einweihung des Germanischen Museums der Harvard Universität. Kuno Francke. — Carl Schurz und seine deutsche Erziehung. F. C. Winkler. — General Schurz bei Chancellorsville. C. H. Doerflinger. — Carl Schurz (Sonnet). Hugo Münsterberg. — Wie Carl Schurz lebte und wirkte. Marie Jüssen. — Mein erster Besuch bei Carl Schurz. Karl Knortz. — Nekrolog für Carl Schurz (Poem). A. W. Hildebrandt. — Schurz-Erinnerungen. Max Eberhardt. — Beim kranken Carl Schurz. Ad. v. Ehrenberg. — Carl Schurz und der Wald. Geo. Giegold. — Carl Schurz im Felde. E. F. L. Gausz. — In Anglo-Amerikanischer Beleuchtung. Edmund Deusz. — Konrad Krez, der Dichter der Heimat-Sehnsucht. Martin Drescher.

No. 6. Ein Besuch bei Albert Jägers, dem Schöpfer des Steuben-Denkmal. Georg Sylvester Viereck. — Theodor Kirchhoff. Georg Giegold. — Für Turner und Sänger. Constantin Grebner. — Der Triumph des deutschen Liedes auf dem 22. Sängerkongress des Sängerbundes des Nordwestens. Joseph A. Schwickerath.

No. 7. Die vernunftgemäß ausgebaute Volksschule, höhere Bürgerschule, als Hauptmittel zur Wiedergeburt des amerikanischen Volkstums. C. H. Dörflinger. — Deutsches Wesen in der amerikanischen Volksentwicklung. Ernst Brunken. — Der deutsche Tag in den Ver. Staaten von Amerika. Emil Mannhardt.

No. 8. Reminiscences of Carl Schurz. Edmund J. James. — Die Kunst muss frei sein. A. v. Ehrenberg. — Der unbekannte

Poe. Georg Sylvester Viereck. — Zur geistigen Beziehung zwischen Amerika und Deutschland. H. von Lessel. — Ein Denkmal deutschen Kunstsinnes und deutscher Tatkraft. (German Theatre of Philadelphia.) Fred. R. Minuth. — Gedichte von Georg Sylvester Viereck, M. D. — Bei den Trappisten in Kentucky. H. H. Fick. — Blinde Hessen. J. Rudolph.

Nos 8 and 9. Carl Schurz und was zu tun er seinen deutschen Volksgenossen in Amerika hinterliess. Karl Detlev Jessen.

No. 9. Amerikanische Universitäten und ihre deutschen Abteilungen. J. A. Walz. — Die Entdeckung Amerikas durch die Deutschen. Hermann Holz. — Ernst Anton Zündt. Martin Drescher.

No. 10. December, 1906. Das Deutschtum in Oesterreich. Adolf C. von Noé. — Die Staatsuniversität von Wisconsin. A. R. Hohlfeld. — Daniel Chester French. Ein amerikanischer Künstler. Rudolf Tombo. — Entgegnung: „Die Kunst muss frei sein.“ A. Hercz-Raster.

*Die Neuceren Sprachen.* Vol. xiv, No. 6. Jahresbericht der Deutschen Zentralstelle für Internationalen Briefwechsel. 1905-1906.

*Eclectic Magazine.* March, 1906. German Colonization in Brazil. F. W. Wile.

*Education.* January, 1906. Educational Courses in German Universities. Edward O. Sisson. — The Educational Reform of Frederick the Great. Samuel Weir. — German Secondary Education. Arthur Marvin.

September, 1906. Phases of Modern Education. German Education. M. D. Learned.

November, 1906. The Contents of Religious Instruction in German Protestant Schools. E. O. Sisson.

*Educational Review.* Impressions of German Universities. R. H. Jesse.

*Engineering Magazine.* February, 1906. American, and the German Peril. L. J. Magee.

*Fortnightly Review.* January, 1906. German Colonization in Brazil. F. W. Wile.

*German American Annals.* New Series. Vol. IV. No. 1. Diarium einer Reise von Bethlehem, Pa., nach Bethabara, N. C. Wm. J. Hinke.

Nos. 1, 2, 3. Walt Whitman and the Germans. Richard Riethmueller.

No. 2. List of Translations of German Prose and List of Articles on German Countries (concluded). Edward Z. Davis. — Résumé of Ludwig Fulda's "Maskerade," together with an account of Fulda's Visit to Philadelphia.

Nos. 3 and 4. The Influence of Salomon Gessner upon English Literature (concluded). Bertha Ried.

No. 4. Schillers Conception of Liberty and the Spirit of '76. W. W. Florer.

No. 5. Deutsch-Amerikanisches in der New Yorker Public Library. Richard E. Helbig. — Schiller in Amerika. W. H. Carruth. — Otto Fuchs. C. O. Schönrich.

No. 6. Philipp Matthias Wolsieffer. C. F. Huch. — Schiller's Aesthetic Idealism and American Literature and Art. M. D. Learned.

No. 7. Protokoll: Staats-Konvention des Deutsch-Amerikanischen Zentral-Bundes von Pennsylvanien.

No. 8. Scandinavian American Literature. (To be continued.) Amandus Johnson. — Documents Relating to Early German Settlers in America. M. D. Learned.

Nos. 9 and 10. Carl Schurz, der grösste Deutsch-Amerikaner. A. Späth.

Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12 (continued). Diary of Rev. Andrew Rudman — July 25, 1696, to June 14, 1697. Luther Anderson.

No. 11. Geschichtsschreibung, Karl Lamprecht und die neueste Zeit. Albert J. W. Kern.

No. 12. Carl Schurz. Eugen Kühnemann.

*Harper's Weekly*. May 12, 1906. German Emigration to the United States and South America.

May 26, 1906. Carl Schurz—The Pilot. S. L. Clemens. — Carl Schurz. W. D. Howells.

*Jahresberichte für Neuere Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*. Vol. xiv.

Deutsches in der amerikanischen Literatur. L. P. Betz.

*Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*. Vol. III, No. 5.

Diaries of Early Missionaries Traveling Among the German Reformed Churches, 1743-1749. Wm. J. Hinke.

No. 7. The Early History of Wentz's Reformed Church, Montgomery Co., Pa. Wm. J. Hinke.

December, 1906. The Origin of the Reformed Church in South Carolina. Wm. J. Hinke.

*Jung America*. Cincinnati, O. Vol. V, No. 5. Heine Number.

*McClure's Magazine*. January to December, 1906, and continued in 1907. Reminiscences of a Long Life. Carl Schurz.

July, 1906. Carl Schurz—His Career.

August, 1906. Impressions of Carl Schurz.

*Methodist Review*. Vol. xxii, No. 1. Saxon Methodism. U. S. Grant Perkins. — Theological Reaction in Germany.

*New Yorker Echo*. January 20, 1906, and February 10, 1906. Die amerikanischen Ritter vom deutschen Geist. L. Viereck.

March 10, 1906. Deutsche Lyrik in Amerika. G. A. Neff.

May 19, 1906. Carl Schurz.

June 9, 1906. Carl Schurz, der treueste Freund aller Fremdgeborenen.

September 15, 1906. Das neue deutsche Theater in Philadelphia.

November 10, 1906. Die Amerikaner auf der Opernbühne.

*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*. No. 1. 1906. Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Sängerkulte in den nordöstlichen Staaten. C. F. Huch.

No. 2. 1906. General Peter Mühlenberg. C. F. Huch. — Deutsche Republikanische Kampflieder.

*North American Review*. March, 1906. Commercial Relations between Germany and the United States. W. J. Stone.

May, 1906. German Emigration and South American Settlements. Baron Speck v. Sternburg.

August, 1906. Scandinavian-American: His Status. Hrolf Wisby.

*Outlook*. May 12, 1906. Cincinnati Musical Festival.

May 19, 1906. Carl Schurz.

*Papers Read Before the Lancaster County (Pa.) Historical Society*. Vol. X. No. 1. The Musical and Literary Organizations and Their Leaders, of Landisville and Vicinity.

No. 5. An Early Road Petition. F. R. Diffenderffer.

- No. 8. Notes on Colonel Houssacker. F. R. Diffenderffer.  
No. 9. Germans in Pennsylvania. R. M. Bolenius.
- Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.* July and October, 1906. Extracts from the Journal of Rev. Andreas Sandel, Pastor of "Gloria Die" Swedish Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, 1702-1719. — Christian Gobrecht, Artist and Inventor. Charles Gobrecht Darrach.
- Poet Lore.* Spring Number, 1906. Longfellow and German Romanticism. Fred Lewis Pattee.  
Autumn Number, 1906. German American Literature. Amalie von Ende.
- Preussische Jahrbücher.* Vol. 126. No. 11. Aus Amerika's Sturm- und Drangperiode. Beda Philipp.
- Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society.* Vol. XV. The Pennsylvania-German in the French and Indian War. H. M. M. Richards. — Frederick the Great and the United States. J. G. Rosengarten. — Old Historic Germantown. N. H. Keyser.
- Putnam's Monthly.* January, 1907. Carl Schurz—The Greatest of Foreign-born Americans. Henry Loomis Nelson.
- Reader's Magazine.* December, 1906. Little Germany. A. Hale.
- Review of Reviews.* January, 1906. Carl Schurz in 1848.  
April, 1906. Significance of German Emigration for Germany and for the United States.  
June, 1906. Carl Schurz—Public Career. F. Franklin.  
August, 1906. Norwegian Emigration and our Interest in it.  
November, 1906. Kaiser Wilhelm Lectureship. Hermann Schumacher.  
December, 1906. Eminent Foreign Composers and Guests of America. L. Gilman.
- School Review.* March, 1906. German and American Schools. W. S. Monroe.
- Souvenir-Program Augustana Synoden.* 47. Synodalmötet. Den svenska kolonien vid Delaware och dess församlingar. Aman- dus Johnson.
- The American Catholic Quarterly Review.* Vol. xxxi. No. 122. Basil Valentine: A. Great Pre-Reformation Chemist. E. Ave- ling.

- No. 123. Within the Penumbra of the Thirty Years' War. (It deals with a translation of Johannes Janssen's "History of the German People since the Close of the Middle Ages," by A. W. Christie.)
- The Bibliotheca Sacra.* January and April, 1906. Luther's Doctrine and Criticism of Scripture. Kemper Fullerton.  
October, 1906. Lessing's Philosophy of Religion. James Lindsay.
- The Biblical World.* July and August, 1906. The New Testament Apocrypha, with Special Reference to Recent German Contributions. Wm. Muss-Arnolt.
- The Christian Intelligencer.* October 10, 1906. America's Educational Debt to the Dutch. Andrew S. Draper.
- The Bookman.* August, 1906. Lincoln and Schurz.
- The Hartford Seminary Record.* Vol. xvi. No. 2. Wellhausen on the Synoptic Gospel. John Moore Trout.
- The Independent.* April 5, 1906. German Professors on American Universities.  
November 29, 1906. Carl Schurz. Poem. R. W. Gilder.
- The Iowa Journal of History and Politics.* No. 2. 1906. The Danish Contingent in the Population of Early Iowa. George T. Flom. — The Growth of the Scandinavian Factor in the Population of Iowa. George T. Flom.
- The Journal of American Folk-Lore.* Vol. xix. No. 73. Pennsylvania-German Riddles and Nursery Rhymes. J. B. Stoudt.  
No. 74. German Tales Collected in Canada. W. J. Winterberg.
- The Lutheran Church Review.* July, 1906. The Schmuckers: Samuel S. and Beale. A. Spaeth.  
October, 1906. Luther as a German. R. E. Thompson. — Is it Advisable for Young Theologians to Study in German Universities? Otto Mees.
- The Missouri Alumni Quarterly.* Vol. II. No. 2. A Glance at a German University. B. F. Hoffman.
- The Munsey.* March, 1906. The Germans in America. Herbert Casson.  
July, 1906. The Scandinavians in America. Herbert Casson.  
November, 1906. The Dutch in America. Herbert Casson.

256 *Bibliography of German Americana for the Year 1906*

*The Nation*. May 17, 1906. Carl Schurz.

November 8 to 15, 1906. Thoreau and German Romanticism.

December 21, 1906. Foreign Observers of Modern Germany.

*The Nineteenth Century*. July, 1906. German Trade in South America. Sir Alexander B. Tulloch.

## FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS.

- PROF. DR. OTTO BINDEWALD, University of Giessen.  
PROF. DR. KARL BORINSKI, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ALOYS BRANDL, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. OTTO BREMER, University of Halle.  
PROF. DR. KARL BREUL, King's College, Cambridge, England.  
PROF. DR. KONRAD BURDACH, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. CREIZENACH, University of Krakau.  
PROF. DR. ERNST ELSTER, University of Marburg.  
DR. K. ENDEMANN, Weilberg a. L.  
PROF. DR. LUDWIG GEIGER, University of Berlin.  
DR. GRAEVELL, Brussels.  
PROF. DR. F. HOLTHAUSEN, University of Kiel.  
PROF. DR. M. H. JELLINEK, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. O. JIRICZEK, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. MAX KOCH, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. K. LANDMANN, Darmstadt.  
PROF. DR. PAUL LANGHANS, Gotha.  
PROF. DR. H. LAMBEL, University of Prague.  
PROF. DR. JOHN MEIER, University of Basel.  
PROF. DR. RUDOLPH MEISSNER, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. RICHARD M. MEYER, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. J. MINOR, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. E. MOGK, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. LORENZ MORSBACH, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. F. MUNCKER, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ANTON SCHOENBACH, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. BERNHARD SEUFFERT, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. ALEXANDER TILLE, University of Glasgow.  
PROF. DR. H. VARNHAGEN, University of Erlangen.  
PROF. DR. OSKAR WALZEL, University of Bern.  
PROF. DR. G. WITKOWSKI, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. WYCHGRAM, University of Leipzig.

(List may be extended.)

---

---

### Form von Vermächtnissen.

I give and bequeath to the "*German American Historical Society*", Central Office located at Philadelphia Pa., \_\_\_\_\_

---

(here describe the amount, if money or premises, if real estate)

to aid in carrying out the designs of the Society.



## THE NATIONAL GERMAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

*President*, DR. C. J. HEXAMER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*1st Vice-Pres.*, JOSEPH KELLER, Indianapolis, Ind.  
*2d Vice-Pres.*, NOAH GUTER, Newark, N. J.  
*Treas.*, H. WENIGER, Phila, Pa. *Fin. Sec.*, JOHN YENNY, East Pittsburg, Pa.  
*Sec.*, ADOLPH TIMM, 522 W. Lehigh Ave., Phila., Pa.

### *National Executive Committee:*

JOHN TJARKS, Balto., Md.; C. W. BENTE, Wheeling, W. Va.,  
KURT VOELCKNER, Washington, D. C.; F. OSKAR MARTIN, Idaho;  
H. I. NIENSTEDT, St. Paul, Minn.; GUSTAV C. MARTENS, Cleveland, O.;  
C. C. LIENAU, Newark, N. J.; DR. CARL BARCK, St. Louis, Mo.,  
DR. H. A. C. ANDERSON, N. Y. City; ALBERT CURRLIN, Oakland, Cal.;  
H. C. BLOEDEL, Allegheny, Pa.; CARL EBERHARD, Boston, Mass.

## THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(INCORPORATED 1901)

*Honorary President*, J. G. ROSENGARTEN, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*President*, DR. ALBERT BERNHEIM, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Vice-Presidents*: L. P. HENNIGHAUSEN, Baltimore, Md. H. M. VON STARK-  
LOFF, St. Louis, Mo. C. F. HUCH, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Editor*: MARION D. LEARNED, BOX 10, College Hall, University of Pennsyl-  
vania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Secretary*: ADOLPH TIMM, 522 W. Lehigh Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Treasurer*: HANS WENIGER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Business Manager*: CHARLES H. BREITBARTH, 809 Spring Garden Street,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Annual Dues, \$5.00.

## THE UNION OF OLD GERMAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

*Headquarters*, ARION HALLE, 59th St. and Park Ave., NEW YORK.

*President*, DR. CARL BECK, 37 E. 31st St., New York.

### *Vice-Presidents:*

DR. M. D. LEARNED, DR. HENRY G. KRAUSE,  
HON. CHAS. F. MCLEAN, DR. CARL BARCK,  
DR. W. FREUDENTHAL.  
*Rec. Secretary*, DR. J. HECKMANN. *Cor. Secretary*, DR. CARL PFISTER.  
*Treasurer*, DR. ALBERT J. W. KERN, Jamaica, N. Y.

### *Directors:*

DR. EM. BARUCH, W. HALLOCK,  
DR. CHAS. F. CHANDLER, DR. R. JOHNSTONE MOONEY,  
H. DROBEGG, DR. H. MUENSTERBERG,  
DR. C. W. ELIOT, W. SCHAUFFLER,  
D. C. GILMAN, DR. H. SCHOENFELD,  
WILLIAM R. HARPER, H. SCHUETER,  
FRIEDRICH HIRTH, DR. J. G. SCHURMAN,  
OSWALD JOERG, DR. L. L. SEAMAN,  
HENRY G. KRAUSE, ANDREW H SMITH,  
L. HERZOG, ANDREW VON GRIMM,  
H. A. WEBER.

Annual Dues, \$3.00.

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations  
OF  
Germany and America

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*  
*The National German American Alliance*  
*The Union of Old German Students in America*

### CONTENTS:

<b>The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown</b>	-	259
<b>Alexander Reinagle and his Connection with the Musical Life of Philadelphia</b>	- - - - -	294
<b>Provincialisms of Southeastern Pennsylvania</b>	- - - - -	307
<b>Bibliography of German Americana for the Year 1906</b>	- - - - -	314

NEW SERIES, Vol. 5, No. 5.

OLD SERIES, Vol. 9, No. 5.

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1907.

Subscription Price, \$3.00.

Single Copies, 50 cents.

COPYRIGHT, 1907.

(Entered March 2, 1903, at Philadelphia, Pa., as Second Class matter, under Act of Congress, of March 3, 1879)

PUBLISHED BY

THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,  
5821 CHESTER AVENUE,  
Philadelphia.

Berlin:  
MAYER & MÜLLER

New York:  
CARL A. STERN

Leipzig:  
F. A. BROCKHAUS

London:  
KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

Paris:  
H. LESOUDIER

## ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Bi-Monthly, GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS, is a continuation of the Quarterly, AMERICANA GERMANICA, and will make accessible to a wider public current matter bearing upon the Relations of Germany and America. Each number will contain a series of original contributions, reviews, book notices and lists of new publications, relating to the history of the Germans in America and also to American studies in the general field of Germanics.

The original title AMERICANA GERMANICA will be retained for the series of larger monographs which do not fall within the limits of a periodical, and for reprints. These monographs will be published at such times as they are presented, and will be sold separately, the price varying according to the character of the monograph.

In the Monthly regular attention will be given to reviews and book notices. New publications will be promptly listed and so far as possible reviewed. Contributions, books for review and exchanges are solicited, especially such as come within the scope of the Monthly, and should be sent to the editor, *M. D. Learned, Box 10, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.*

Subscriptions and other business communications should be directed to the business manager, *Charles H. Breilbarth, 5821 Chester Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.*

The annual subscription price is three dollars (\$3.00) in advance. Members of the German American Historical Society are entitled to the periodical publications issued by the Society. To members of other affiliated societies the Monthly will be sent for two dollars (\$2.00), provided not less than a hundred members of such a society subscribe for the journal.

### SPECIAL TO LIBRARIES.

#### GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS.

As full sets are nearly exhausted, Vol. I-IV will not be sold separately. Back sets can be had as follows :

Volume I,	}	complete . . . . .	\$10.00
Volume II,			
Volume III,			
Volume IV,			
Volume V, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VI, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VII, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00
Volume VIII, Nos. 1-12 . . . . .			3.00

#### AMERICANA GERMANICA (Monographs Bound in Cloth).

1. *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines.* By E. Z. Davis, Ph. D. . . . . \$1.50
2. *The Harmony Society.* By J. A. Bole, Ph. D. . . . . 1.50
3. *Friedrich Schiller in America.* By E. C. Parry, Ph. D. . . . . 1.25
4. *The Influence of Salomon Gessner Upon English Literature.*  
By Bertha Reed . . . . . 1.25
5. *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri.* By Wm. G. Bek . . . . . 1.50

PRINTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL PRINTING CO.,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
**Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations**  
OF  
**Germany and America**

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*  
*The National German American Alliance*  
*The Union of Old German Students in America*

EDITOR,

**MARION DEXTER LEARNED,**  
University of Pennsylvania.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS :

**H. C. G. BRANDT,**  
Hamilton College.

**W. H. CARPENTER,**  
Columbia University.

**W. H. CARRUTH,**  
University of Kansas.

**HERMANN COLLITZ,**  
Bryn Mawr College.

**STARR W. CUTTING,**  
University of Chicago.

**DANIEL K. DODGE,**  
University of Illinois.

**A. B. FAUST,**  
Cornell University.

**KUNO FRANCKE,**  
Harvard University.

**ADOLPH GERBER,**  
Late of Earlham College.

**HENRY WOOD,** Johns Hopkins University.

**JULIUS GOEBEL,**  
Harvard University.

**J. T. HATFIELD,**  
Northwestern University.

**W. T. HEWETT,**  
Cornell University.

**A. R. HOHLFELD,**  
University of Wisconsin.

**HUGO K. SCHILLING,**  
University of California.

**H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,**  
University of Chicago.

**HERMANN SCHOENFELD,**  
Columbia University.

**CALVIN THOMAS,**  
Columbia University.

**H. S. WHITE,**  
Harvard University.

New Series, Vol. 5.

1907.

Old Series, Vol. 9.

PUBLISHED BY

**THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,

**Philadelphia.**

**Berlin :**

**MAYER & MÜLLER**

**New York :**

**CARL A. STERN**

**Leipzig :**

**F. A. BROCKHAUS**

**London :**

**KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.**

**Paris :**

**H. LESOUDIER**



# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

---

New Series,  
Vol. V. No. 5.

September and October  
1907.

Old Series,  
Vol. IX. No. 5.

---

FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS,  
The Founder of Germantown.

By MARION DEXTER LEARNED.

[COPYRIGHTED]

CHAPTER III.

YEARS OF PRACTICE AND TRAVEL.

The years of study had given Pastorius a wide acquaintance with men and books. At Altdorf he had come into touch with some of the greatest scholars of the German Empire and with that spirit of inquiry which had made Nürnberg famous among the South German cities in promoting the knowledge of geography and history, letters and arts. The enterprise and progressive spirit of Altdorf are attested by the fact that this university was the first in Germany to establish a special academic chair for Public Law (*Jus Publicum*), separating this subject from the professorship of history with which it had hitherto been associated. This newly created chair was occupied for twenty years (1654-1674) by the renowned Professor Cregel (*Ernestus Cregelius*), closely connected with the great patrician family of Welsers of Augsburg, having married the widow of Hieronymus Anton Welser, who died in Altdorf in 1642 and to whose memory a tablet was erected in the archway of the Memorial Chapel with the following inscription:

(259)

Ein edler Welser schläft hierinn  
 Der wann er wachte Herz und Sinn  
 Auf seinen Heyland stellt  
 Und darum geht er auss der Welt  
 Dem Himmel zu da er recht lebt  
 Und für sei'm Heyland ewig schwebt  
 Der du dies liesest merk es wohl  
 So lebst du wie man leben soll.<sup>1</sup>

The attention given to Classic and Oriental languages at Altdorf, doubtless, quickened Pastorius' interest in these tongues, and his subsequent study of French at Strassburg and Regensburg and of Italian at Jena furnished him with that extraordinary facility in the use of these modern languages, noticeable in his later writings. In like manner the live interest in the philosophical and ethical questions of the time at the university cultivated in the young jurist an alertness in observing the significant signs of the new religious regeneration, which was then taking shape in the Pietistic reform of Jacob Spener. In a word, the new licentiate passed from the halls of his alma mater, Universitas Altorfina, to the practice of his profession with the best academic equipment and fairest prospects of success.

#### *Lawyer at Windsheim.*

The 25th of November, 1676, Pastorius with his diploma in hand left Altdorf and returned to Windsheim, to begin the practice of his profession, the law. Information concerning his practice here is meagre. The most detailed account which we possess is that given in the following brief paragraph of his Genealogical Sketch:

"Here [in Windsheim] I practised [Law] above two years & an half, keeping mine own horse, marching from one Nobleman's house in the Province unto the other, (auff der Wurst

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Wills, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Nürnbergschen Universität Altdorf*, p. 293.



RATHAUS IN SOMMERHAUSEN IN 1903.





herumb,<sup>2</sup> as they use to speak,) and in short making nothing but work for Repentence."<sup>3</sup>

It is clear from this account that the practice of law became distasteful to him, at least in his later years. This may be due to his unfortunate experience with the affairs of the Frankfurt Company in Germantown, nevertheless he was evidently out of sympathy with much that he encountered in his profession even in Windsheim. An interesting and unexpected corroboration of his dissatisfaction with the law is found in one of the manuscript volumes of Melchior Adam Pastorius, his father. The passage states that Francis Daniel Pastorius dissuaded his young stepbrother, Augustin Adam Pastorius,<sup>4</sup> from selecting law as his profession:

IVRISTA. Omnis Homo

[Followed by a cut pasted into the book, representing the traditional male figure holding a lobster in his right hand and a serpent in his left, bearing respectively these inscriptions: SI LAXES, ERE-PIT (over the lobster), and: SI STRINGAS, ERVMPIT (over the serpent).]

Vff alle Stätel gerecht  
Häng den Mantel nach dem Wind  
Gibts kein Oc!sen; gibts ein Rind.

Studium Iuris dissuasit Franciscus Daniel Pastorius suo Fratri Augustino Adamo, weillen Er in der that befinde Das solch Studium nichts anders seye als Ein Lusus de alieno corio, oder wie es Die Heylige Schrift nennet: Eine kunst die Hader zwischen Brüdern anrichtet, welches Dem Herrn ein Grewel ist.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> In his "Additamenta" (*Res Propriae*, p. 12) he gives the following variation of this account:

"25 Nov. reiste ich nach Nürnberg, u. den 29. nach Winsheim, woselbst ein pferd hielt u. auff der Wurst unter den [des?] lands Reichs freyem Adel herum ritt."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Born Aug. 5, 1682 (*Itinerarium of M. A. P.*, p. 137 b).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. "Schatz-Kammer" (*Prognosticon*, p. 343 a).

Although Pastorius does not say in what respect his law practice was a "work for Repentence," we have the explanation in his father's words, that Franciscus considered the law: "Ein Lusus de alieno corio" (a game at another's expense). It is then safe to conclude that the methods pursued in the practice and perhaps also the unpleasant associations into which the practice brought him, were not such as he could harmonize with his best professional ideals. Indeed it would seem that Pastorius even at this early period exhibited pietistic inclinations, which explain his strong sympathies with the religious views of Spener and his associates in Frankfurt, and may indeed furnish a motive of his going thither.

The passage cited above from the *Beehive* indicates also the character of his clients in the Windsheim period and the territory and manner of his practice. The clients were the landed gentry, some of whose members he may have known at the Gymnasium in Windsheim or at the University of Altdorf or other universities during his student years. It is quite likely that his practice was confined for the most part to the gentry owning estates in the villages under the jurisdiction of Windsheim and that "marching from one Nobleman's house in the Province unto the other" is to be understood in this more limited sense of "Province" as judiciary district. Naturally his business might occasionally take him beyond the immediate jurisdiction of Windsheim. This *saddlebag practice of law* affords us an interesting glimpse into the primitive conditions of life of the country lawyer in Germany in the second half of the seventeenth century. It gave the young jurist, the future founder of the first German colony in Pennsylvania, a foretaste of pioneering, which must have stood him in good stead afterwards in the primitive conditions of early Germantown.

*In Frankfurt-on-the-Main.*

After some two years and a half of practice in Windsheim, Pastorius decided to seek a wider and more congenial field of labor. It is not necessary to suppose he was unsuccessful in his Windsheim practice, but rather desirous of a more agreeable social and religious atmosphere. This is apparent from the fact that he sought and followed the advice of his good and pious friend, Dr. Horb, as he tells us in his Genealogical Sketch :

"Año 1679. the 24th of April J went (by persuasion of Dr. Horb,<sup>6</sup> a godly Man & good Friend of mine,) to Franckfort upon the Meyn, where J still plaid the Lawyer & kept<sup>7</sup> [gave or held] Collegia privata Juris to some young Patricijs of the sd City, having my Lodging for a while with Dr. Schutz, and then with an old & merry-hearted Gentleman call'd Juncker Fichard, as likewise good Opportunity to see Worms, Manheim, Speyer & other places of the Neighbourhood."<sup>8</sup>

This information is supplemented in the "Additamenta" by the further details, that Pastorius after his arrival first took his meals in Frankfurt with the notary, Christian Fenda (Fende or Fend), in the Saalhof and his lodgings with Captain Daniel Reñepage and taught some young students the Institutes, finally going to Junker Fichard for both lodging and meals.<sup>9</sup>

The Dr. Horb here referred to was the Johannes Henricus Horbius, to whom Pastorius' father, Melchior Adam Pastorius, dedicated the following anagram :

<sup>6</sup> The proper form, to judge from the Latin "Horbius," would be "Horbe."

<sup>7</sup> A Germanism for *gave*. See the note on the same word, Chap. II. It is possible, however, that Pastorius was employing the old use of *keep*, as in "keep kirk," etc. (Cf. *Century Dictionary*, sub verbo.) William Penn in his *Journal* uses *keep* in a sense similar to this in saying that the General Meeting was "to be kept" in such a week.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 223,

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 12:

"1679. 24. April reiste ich auff Horbij anrathen nach Franckfurt, hatt den Tisch bey Notario Christian Fenden im Saalhof, mein logiment bey Capitain Daniel Reñepage, &c. hielt einigen Jungen Studiosis Collegia Instit. bisz zu Juncker Fichard ins Haus u. an den Tisch kam, woselbst auch verblieben."

IOANNES HENRICVS HORBIVS.

## Anagramma

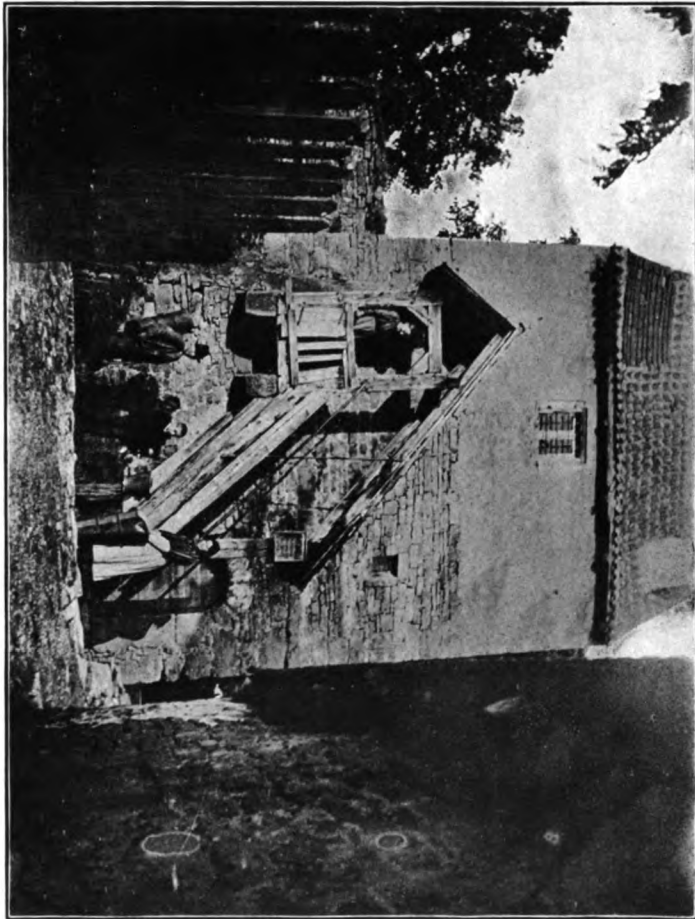
INI, VERBO CVRES INSANOS  
 CHARVS INES IESV, NON ORBI  
 HIC RESONA INNISVS VERBO  
 EN SACRI VERBI SONO VNIS  
 I, RESONANS VINCIS VERBO.

Quid canis est mutus domui? quid cæcus Ouili  
 Pastor? nonne Ouibus deperitura salus?  
 Mentibus ægroti languemus, opemque precamur  
 Sed qui nos curet nemo Machaon est  
 Prosper ini, pie Serue Dei verboque potenti  
 Insanos cures mentis opemque feras  
 Non Orbi sed charus inēs tu totus IESV,  
 Hinc, en inis Verbi Charus adusque sano.  
 Sæpius hic resona, tardantes pelle, moneque  
 Inissus Verbo, spandeo Victor eris.  
 I resonans vincis diuino pectora Verbo  
 Instar id est penetrans ancipitis gladij  
 Quamuis dissideant animi, mundanaque tractent  
 En sacri Verbi tu vnīs adusque sono  
 Perge bonis auibus fac fructus undique multos  
 Donec conspicias Horrea plena Dei.  
 Effice ut æthereo cuncti iungamur amore  
 Fiat et vnus amor Iesus Homoque simul.<sup>10</sup>

In Dr. Horb we have a most important link between Pastorius and the Frankfurt Pietists. Dr. Horb was an intimate member of this circle of enthusiasts, who gathered around Dr. Spener, and was closely related to Spener, having married his sister.

Johann Heinrich Horb (or Horbe, Lat. Horbius) was born in Colmar, Alsatia, June 11, 1645. In 1661 he entered the University of Strassburg, taking his Master's degree in 1664. His teachers here were Balthasar Bebel, Johann Konrad Dannbauer (both rigid Lutherans), Philipp Jacob Spener, the Pietist, who had returned to Strassburg in 1663, and Johann Heinrich Böckler, the historian, with whom Pastorius studied Public Law and

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Itinerarium*, p. 83 a & b.



ENTRANCE TO WALL TOWER IN SOMMERHAUSEN (1903).



who died in the midst of a course on Lampadius, before Pastorius left Strassburg in 1672.<sup>11</sup> Horb then attended the universities of Jena, Leipzig, Wittenberg, Helmstädt and Kiel, spending some time in Leipzig as "Assessor of the Philosophical Faculty." In 1669-1670 Horb accompanied Johann Sebastian Müller, of Leipzig, and others as tutor (Hofmeister) on a journey to Holland, England and France. In Utrecht he met Justus Theodor von Münchhausen, of Hamburg, and made arrangements to accompany him in France, a transaction which resulted in great disaster to Horb and aided not a little in intensifying his persecution by the Orthodox Theologians. In 1671 Horb returned from Paris to Strassburg, where he became docent at the university while Pastorius was there as a student. Soon afterwards Horb was appointed by the Palzgraves by-the-Rhine as Court Preacher in Bischweiler and later transferred to Trarbach-on-the-Mosel, where he remained till his suspension because of persecution in 1678. He had married Spener's sister, Sophie Cäcilia, in the year 1671, and openly allied himself with the Pietistic party by defending the doctrines of Spener's *Pia Desideria*. In 1679 he was called as superintendent and pastor to Windsheim, where Pastorius was then practicing law and his father, Melchior Adam Pastorius, was Burgomaster. Here Horb was attacked savagely by Georg Konrad Diefeld,<sup>12</sup> Deacon of Nordhausen, for sharing Spener's views of the education of theologians. In 1684, in spite of strong opposition, he was elected Chief Pastor of St. Nicholas Church in Hamburg. But having circulated unwittingly, as it seems, a German translation of a pamphlet by Peter Poiret among his congregation, he was bitterly assailed by Johann Friedrich Mayer and others, and finally forced to leave his charge in 1693 and seek refuge in Schleems. His health broke, and he died in 1694, a martyr to the cause of Pietism.

---

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Chap. II of this work.

<sup>12</sup> In a work entitled *Theosophia Horbio-Speneriana* [Strassburg], 1679.



Thus, in the person of Dr. Horb, we have established the connection between Spener, the leader of the Pietistic movement in Frankfurt, and Windsheim, Pastorius' home, and found a natural explanation for Pastorius' introduction to Spener and his immediate entrance into the Pietistic circle in the Saalhof at Frankfurt. It is not improbable that Pastorius knew Horb even in the Strassburg days. This would seem to be corroborated by Pastorius' statement that he left Windsheim to go to Frankfurt "by persuasion of Dr. Horb, a godly Man and good Friend of mine." This language seems to imply a longer acquaintance and friendship than that which could have been formed with Dr. Horb in Windsheim between January, 1679, the date of Horb's arrival in Windsheim, and April 24, 1679, the date of Pastorius' departure for Frankfurt.

It now requires no further explanation how Pastorius fell in with the Pietists. Dr. Horb, as the brother-in-law of Dr. Spener, naturally gave Pastorius a personal introduction to the great Pietist in Frankfurt. Naturally, too, Pastorius found his way to the Saalhof, the great assembling place of the Pietists, and took lodgings with Dr. Schütz,<sup>18</sup> one of the Pietists, who afterwards appears in the records of the Frankfurt Land Company.

While it has been impossible to find any record of Pastorius' law practice in Frankfurt during this early period, we are fortunate in having an interesting account of at least one case which he conducted. Some four months after his arrival in Frankfurt he found a profitable client in the person of a Jew by the name of Samuel, as we learn from the following:

---

<sup>18</sup> This is doubtless the Johann Jacob Schütz, U. J. Licent'us, of Frankfurt, whose name with those of Jacob van de Walle, Daniel Behaghel and Caspar Merian appear on the Power of Attorney given to Francis Daniel Pastorius, April 2, 1685. (Cf. S. W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown*, pp. 80-81.) The abbreviation in the *Beehive* seems to be Dd., not Dr., but may be explained as used for "Doctorand." Pastorius not infrequently writes this abbreviation.

"5. Sept. [1679] wie auch 1680. 12. Mart. und 28 Apr. vor den Juden Samuel zum Kost zu Mañheim am Churfüstl. Hof gewest, und reichl. bezahlt worden."<sup>14</sup>

Although further details of the case are lacking, we may infer, first, that it was one of considerable importance and, secondly, that Pastorius brought the matter to a successful issue. This record shows that he was esteemed highly enough to present a case before the Electoral Court at Mannheim, which city was then in the second period of its prosperity under the renewed and extended privileges granted by Elector Karl Friedrich in the year 1652.

It may be inferred from another account in the *Res Propriae*, that Pastorius had other professional commissions to neighboring cities, as he speaks of practicing a little while giving private instruction in the Institutes and of having occasion to visit Worms, Mannheim, Speier, etc. At Speier he was with Dr. Fuchs, March 22, 1680,<sup>15</sup> as it seems on his return from Mannheim, where he had represented the Jew Samuel on the 12th of March.

Thus the young jurist had justified the confidence which the Frankfurt Company later imposed in him in making him its legal agent in America.

#### *Travels with Johann Bonaventura von Bodeck.*

While the years of study at the universities of Altdorf, Strassburg, Basel and Jena had been in a sense a period of travel also, the education of Pastorius was incomplete without a journey into some of the lands with which Germany was in closest cultural touch—Holland, England, France, Switzerland and Italy. Many young jurists, physicians, theologians, philosophers and poets took

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Año 1679, 24. Apr. reisetete ich nach Franckfurt am Mayn, hielte alldar einigen *Studiosis privat. collegio Juris*, u. practicirte anbey ein wenig. Da dañ gelegenheit bekam, Worms, Mañheim, Speyer etc zu visitiren. logirte vom 1. Dec. 1679. bisz 26 Jun. 1680 bey Juncker Fichard. 1680. 22. Mart. mit Dr. Fuchsen zu Speyer gewest" (*Res. Propriae*, p. 6).

such a journey on their own account at their own expense, while others, like Horbius and Pastorius, accompanied some young prince or magnate as tutor and thus saw the world without personal expense. The opportunity came to Pastorius soon after his arrival in Frankfurt to go on such a journey with a young nobleman Johann Bonaventura von Bodeck. It was the Pietist, Dr. Spener, who recommended Pastorius as tutor to von Bodeck. Pastorius gives the following all too brief account of the journey in his Genealogical Sketch:

"Anno 1680. the 26th of June, I upon the recommendation of Dr. Speñer (that brave Patriarch of the Pietists,) undertook to be (Hoffmeister or) Conductour & Guide to a Noble young Spark called Johañes Bonaventura von Bodeck in his Travels through Holland, England, France, Switzerland &c. & so went to Mentz, where we did meet, and happily perform our sd Voyage, as does appear by a peculiar Manuscript Journal<sup>16</sup> of mine in 8<sup>o</sup> arriving again at Francfort in perfect health & Safety, the 18th of November 1682."<sup>17</sup>

In another account given in the "Additamenta"<sup>18</sup> we learn something more of the particulars of this journey. Pastorius had evidently met von Bodeck in Frankfurt in the society of Günterod (Günderode) and Lersner, who were the brothers-in-law of von Bodeck, and with whom Pastorius went to Mainz to start on the journey with von Bodeck. That Pastorius was associated with influential families in Frankfurt is shown by the fact that he numbered among his friends members of such distinguished families as the Lersners and Günderodes. The Lersner family, originally

---

<sup>16</sup> This *Journal* seems to be hopelessly lost. All that survives is a handful of extracts in the *Beehive* (see further on).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 223.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 12. The very important passage is written in German:

"1680. 26. Junij fuhr ich mit Juncker Günterod Juncker Lerssner u. dero Weibern nach Maintz, u. tratt als Hofmeister mit derselben Schwager Joh. Bonaventura von Bodeck eine Reis an, welche in meinem Jtinerario umbstandlich beschrieben."



OLD SCHOOLHOUSE IN WINDSHEIM (1903).



from Felsburg in Niederhessen, had become allied to the patrician family of Rauschers in Frankfurt in the marriage of Hermann Lersner, Dr. Jur. and Professor at Marburg, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

The name of Pastorius' patron on this journey is clearly "Bodeck," not "Rodeck," as it was incorrectly written by Friedrich Kapp and Professor Oswald Seidensticker, and copied from them in more recent works. The mistake is due evidently to the rather indistinct passage in the *Beehive*, where the initial "R" is written so close to the line that it is difficult to determine whether the initial letter in this case is "R" or "B." The other occurrences of the name in the *Beehive*, and particularly in the *Res Proprieae*, however, clearly show the form to be "Bodeck." The Wagner copy of the *Res Proprieae*, made about 1850 and now found in the Archives of the German Society of Pennsylvania, has "Bodeck," not "Rodeck." Furthermore, it has been impossible to find the name "Rodeck" in any of the genealogical or heraldic sources, while the name "Bodeck" is much in evidence.

This Johann Bonaventura Bodeck or "von Bodeck," as Pastorius calls him, was doubtless a member of the family of Bodeck von (or zu) Ellgau, which appears in the rolls of Swiss and Rhenish nobility as early as the sixteenth century, with a coat-of-arms dating back, as it appears, as early as 1584 at least. The Bodecks were barons of the Holy Roman Empire after September 7, 1706. The coat-of-arms is described as follows, and all heraldic authorities seem to agree in this description.<sup>19</sup>

"A quartered shield; 1 and 4 contain a cross of gold in a field of blue; 2 and 3 a red lion in a field of gold; the helmet is bustled,

\* Cf. particularly the following:

*Sibenmachers grosses Allgemeines Wappenbuch \* \* \* von Dr. Otto Titan von Hefner.* Nürnberg, 1856.

*Dictionnaire de la Noblesse \* \* \* par De la Chenaye-Debois et Badier.* Paris, 1863.

*Armorial Général précédé d'un Dictionnaire des Termes du Blason par J. B. Rietstapf.* Gouda. G. B. van Goor Zonen, 1887.

having the right in blue and gold and the left in red and gold, and supporting a lion rampant, crossed with alternate blue and gold."<sup>20</sup>

A probable corroboration of the identity of Johann Bonaventura von Bodeck's family with the Bodecks of Ellgau is found in the survival of the name "Bonaventura" in the latter family in recent times, as for example in the case of Karl Maximilian Maria Bonaventura Bodeck, born November 24, 1849, son of Georg Karl Joseph Freiherr Bodeck von Ellgau and his spouse, Euphenia Antonia Maria Eugenia Franzisca Huberta.

In addition to the Swiss and Rhenish branches of the family of Bodeck von Ellgau, there is an Austrian branch Bodeck von Marwitz. Both branches have the same coat-of-arms. Whether Hermann Bodeck, the Gallician Hebraist (1820-1880), and Jacob Bodeck of Lemberg (died at Lemberg, 1856), were connected with the Austrian branch,<sup>21</sup> or have their name directly from Hebrew sources, I have not ascertained.

Johann Bonaventura von Bodeck seems to have escaped the biographical dictionaries and we must be content with the laconic characterization which Pastorius gives of him in the *Beehive*, where he describes him as "a Noble young Spark."

As the Bodeck family of Ellgau was Catholic,<sup>22</sup> it is quite safe to assume that Johann Bonaventura was likewise Catholic. It was evidently through his connection with Günderoode and Lersner<sup>23</sup> in Frankfurt (Pastorius calls him their brother-in-law) that he heard of Pastorius. The fact that there was a difference

---

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Gothaisches genealogisches Taschenbuch der freiherrlichen Häuser auf das 1857 u. 1858*.

<sup>21</sup> A sketch of both of these Hebrew scholars may be found in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, sub nom. The name Bodeck has representatives in Philadelphia, but I have been unable to trace it to its European connections.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Gothaisches Genealogisches Taschenbuch der freiherrlichen Familien* (1858).

<sup>23</sup> Lersner is one of those mentioned by Pastorius in the Pietistic group at the Saalhof and "bynamed the Pious" (cf. *Beehive*, p. 223).

of confession may have been offset by Pastorius' liberality of spirit and particularly by the fact that his family too had formerly been Catholic.

The itinerary of the journey with Bodeck included Holland, England, France, Switzerland and a part of Upper Germany. Pastorius, as we have seen, accompanied Günderode and Lersner and their wives to Mainz, and there, as it seems, joined von Bodeck. The journey lasted from June 26, 1680, till November 18, 1682, when they both returned safe and sound to Frankfurt.<sup>24</sup> It is unfortunate that the *Itinerarium*, which Pastorius says he wrote of his journey, has been lost. It would, no doubt, have furnished much important information as to what they did and saw. In lieu of the original we must content ourselves with some extracts which he incorporated later in the *Beehive*. While these extracts are mere scraps, they will nevertheless give us some notion of the bent of Pastorius' mind and the character of the observations made at this period of his life. Although the items noted seem pedantic and trite to us, they were fresh and interesting to the traveling scholar of pietistic inclinations in the years 1680-1682.

Tantum Quantum, or A Few Inscriptions, gathered out of my own Itinerary.

[On preceding page:]

The Heads of the following Inscriptions: 1. Sun-dials. 2. Clock-dials & Bells. 3. Steeple-houses, Altars, Organs, Images, &c. 4. Cloisters & Cells. 5. Hospitals, Infirmaries, &c. 6. Schools. 7. Libraries. 8. Senate houses, & Guild halls. 9. Bridewells. 10. Prisons. 11. Armouries or Magazins for Weapons. 12 Utensils of war, Standards, & the like. 13. Mints, & Treasure-houses. 14. Burses or Royal Exchanges for merchants to meet in. 15. Palaces. 16. Tennis-Courts, Bowling-greens, &c.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 223:

"Anno 1680. 26. Jun. fuhr ich nacher Maintz, und thät von daraus mit Johan Bonaventura von Bodeck als dessen Hofmeister eine Reis durch Holland, Engelland, Franckreich, Schweitz u. einen Strich Hochteutschlands; kamen beede año 82. 18 Nov. wieder frisch u. gesund nach Franckfurt."



17. Market places, Shambles, &c. 18. Apothecary-Shops. 19. Inns and Ordinaries. 20. Private Dwelling-houses. 21. Doors, Chimneys, Tables, &c. 22. Gardens. 23. Fountains. 24. Ships. 25. Highways. 26. Bridges. 27. Monuments. 28. Statues. 29. Cities & Fortresses. 30. Fenster-Schriefften. 31. Stañ-Buch-Andenck-Sprüch. 32. A Miscellaneous Appendix. 33. Privy houses. Post num. 20. Seals. Post num. 6. Arms or Coat of arms.

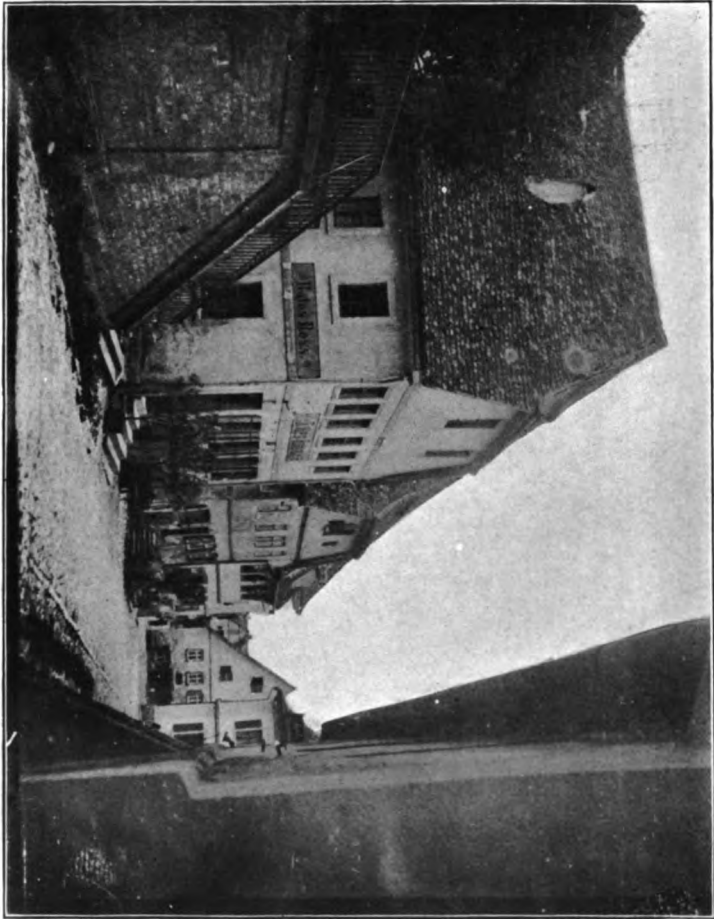
Tantum Quantum, or A Few Incriptions, gathered out of my own Itinerary.

I. Over, under & about Sun-Dials I observed the Following:

Sicut umbra dies nostri. Job. 8. Dies nostri sicut umora prætereunt. Psal. 143. Quasi umbra transeunt qui non timent faciem Domini. Eccles. 8. A Solis ortu usq' ad occasum laudetur Nomen Domini. Psal. 112. Oportet operari dum dies est Joh. 9. Ambulate dum lucem habetis Joh. 12. Redimentes tempus quoniam dies mali. Eph. 5. Vigilate, quia nescitis diem neq' horam. Matt. 25. Qua hora non putabitis Filius hominis veniet. Luke. 12. Non accidat Sol super Jracundiam vestram. Eph. 4. Ecce mensurabiles posuisti dies meos. Psal. 38. Verum est Testimonium ejus. Joh. 19. Solem quis dicere falsum audeat? Dies mei sicut umbra declinaverunt. Psal. 102.

Ut radius sic Vita fluit, dum stare videtur. Tempus ut umbra fugit. Vita fugit velut umbra. Speculum Vitæ humanæ. Hominis sic Vita caduca. Umbra transitus est Tempus nostrum. Omnes sic transimus. Cite pede labitur ætas. More fluentis aquæ. Nec quæ præterijt hora redire potest. Sic Vita, sic Umbra.

Tempora labuntur, tacitis senescimus annis. Umbra fugit, mortemq' vocat; Vigilemus amici. Quota est Vitæ? Fluit irreparabile Tempus. Vive memor Lethi, fugit hora. Ut cuspis, sic Vita fugit. Sic tua Vita fluit. Progreditur fugiens et semper vertitur hora, Vita simul. fugiens semel vertitur absq' reverti. Respice Finem! Ut tibi Sol radijs labentia tempora signat, Sic Sol Justitiæ signet (: & acta regat.) ad astra viam. Quæritur ostendat radius quam pensilis horam? Hora est sollicita quærere mente Deum. Sera nimis Vita est crastina, Vive hodie. Tota Vita dies unus est. Utere non tardo labitur illa pede. Absq' mora fugit hora. Jndice me quoties fugientes suspicis horas, Te toties gressu mors propiore premit. Transvolat umbra levis, neq' scit fugitiva reverti. Nostra simul proprans Vita caduca fugit. Hac licet exili non est lethalior umbra, Nam quicquid fugitans attigit Jnterijt. Sic, sic translaberis ipse. Ipse sic excedis Vita,



HOTEL 'ROTES ROSS' IN WINDSHEIM (1903).



Sensim, sine Sensu. PEDETENTIM. Aeternitati Provide, Tempus fugit. Rapit hora diem. Christe, tui sincerus amor mihi crescit in horas. Mé Sol, vos umbra regit. Nos brevis hora Parit, nos brevis hora Rapit. Viventi mors obrepit Juveniq' Senectus horaq' dum quota est? Quæritur hora fugit. Res damnosa malis tempus consumere rebus, Expendas igitur quod tibi nunc superest.

Imposuit Dominus domini, testarer ut horas. Interpres Solis, horas et Tempora dico. Nos docet; atq' nocet vobis, qui fallere Tempus Vultis, vos ipsos fallitis Insipidi. Ora ne Te decipiat hora. Without Time we can do nothing in this present World. Col empo e l' hora tutto s'adopra. Non nisi cœlesti radio. Solius præsentia Solis. Sum sine Sole nihil.

Wann die Sonne gegen wärtig, so ist auch der Zeiger fertig. Quod scio, tu nescis, nisi Sol conspexerit ædes.

Nisi Sol (:illuminet ædes :) splendescat in orbe. Donec optata veniat. † Virtus sine Cruce evanescit ut umbra. Nulla dies sine linea. Ordinatione Tua perseverat dies. Nonne duodecim horæ sunt dici? Joh. xi. Peveunt et Jmputantur. Plures Labori quam Otio. Ex his mors eligit unam. Hinc venit ultima cunctis. Le Jour est assuré, mais l'heure ne l'est pas. Quis scit, an extremam Stilus hic (: mihi :) tibi denotet horam? Ultima quæ sit? Hora cuiq' sua est; Fors erit ista Tua. Quæ tua sit, nescis.

La Mort tue en toute heure & en tout lieu. Jnstat tibi forte suprema? Ultima forsitan erit? En regardent quelle heure il est, Pense ala Tienne, & t'y tiens prest.

Quota sit hora vides, sed quæ sit suñna tacebo. Jsta patet, postrema latet. Latet ultima Vitæ! Hic extrema vides extremæ signa diei, Fac bona sit præsens, ultima ne mala sit. Sol tibi per Speculum fugientes indicat horas, Jndicat et Speculum quod Speculatorabit. Spiegeluhr. Vita fugit, fugit umbra tamen reditura; sed illa quam traducis homo non reditura fugit. Manè. Nos pulchram Phoebi faciem surgentis Eoo [?] cernimus, Antipodes posteriora vident. Vespere Sol abiens paulum Lucis post terga relictæ Monstrat, uti Moysi posteriora Deus. Beatus qui horam Mortis suæ semper ante oculos habet & ad moriendum quotidie se disponit. Th: Kemp.

1. Aspicias hic primas Orientis Luminis horas, Nescius occidui sera quid ferat. Dum radius lento cursu versatur in orbem vertice præcipiti Tempora nostra vorat. Dum vitæ numero menses securus & años, Jncipit hic horas mors numerare meas. Discite novum ancupium [?], qui discis tempora sunt hic Mors andeps [?] horæ retia, præda homines.

2. Filia sum Solis, peperit me ferrea mater; hic nigra stat genetrix, albus in Axe pater. Deferor in partes Index utriusq' nigranti ore sequor matrem, mobilitate patrem. Quæ modo pterijt, rursus cras hora redibit, si tua pprætereat vita, redire nequit. Dum radios cernis celeres umbrasq' fugaces, Opta perpetuum posse videre diem.

3. Mortales hæc umbra docet nos esse fugaces, Et nostri fugiunt ut fugit umbra dies. Quid spem vivendi longos jaculamur in annos? heu celeri properat mors inopina pede, Linea nostrarum si Mors est ultima rerum, hic etiam nostræ linea mortis erit. Nec suspecta tamen tibi sola sit ultima, Ferre ciulibet extrema linea prima potest.

Diese Drey letztere stehen in der Corthause zu Regensburg an drey absonderlichen Soñen Uhren daselbst im Hof. Im Jesuiter Collegio zu Lion aber steht bey 3. nebeneinander gefügten Sonnen weisern: Et hi tres unum sunt. Item Sic Neovillæi referunt se Sidera Fratres. Bey einem andern alldar: Non Justior alter. Und noch bey einem auff einer Weltkugel, welche der Atlas trägt: Urbis fata stylo quis meliore notet? Dergleichen sind in meinem Jtinerario mehr die anher zu überschreiben der Zeit u. des papiers nicht wehrt.

The following is an abstract of the more interesting matter under the other headings in the *Beehive*.

*Over and under Clock-Dials*: Description of the clock at Lyons in which the cock crows twice every hour after having flapped his wings twice. After this the angel Gabriel appears and salutes Mary, the Holy Ghost comes down in the form of a dove.

The clock of the tower of Notre Dame at Paris has a circumference of 25 feet and three thumbs, is 9 feet high and nine thumbs thick, weighs 31,000 lbs., and the clapper weighs 600 lbs. It was cast on the ground November 31, [sic] 1681, and was named Emmanuel by permission of the king and queen. Then follows the Latin legend.

*At Steeple-houses, Altars, Organs, Images, etc.*: Inscriptions of St. Saturnini Church in Toulouse and similar one in the Lateran in Rome; of the Münster in Basel, of the old church in Delft, of the cathedral at Narbonne. Description and inscriptions of Carmelite Cloister in Frankfurt, Würzburg, St. Hilaire in Paris, St. Jacobs (James) in Hamburg, the Capucin Monastery

of Fauxbourg St. Jacques, Paris, the crown which Queen Christina devoted to the Virgin Mary at Loreto, the Templum Major in Costniz.

*Cloisters and Cells*: References to Rochelle, Paris, Chapter House of the York Munster,

(Ut Rosa Flos Florum,  
Sic est Domus ista Domorum.)

Regensburg, Paris, Avignon, Lyons.

*Hospitals, Infirmeries, &c.*: Mention of Toulon, Oppeln (Silesia), Würzburg, Amsterdam.

*Schools*: Mottos from the Schola Mariana in Danzig, from the school in Amsterdam, from St. Jacobs Schule in Hamburg, and of Basel. St. Jacobs has the following:

“Es meint einjede Frau,  
Jhr kind das sey ein Pfau.”

also: “Arbeit Zwang und Lehren  
bringt Kinder oft zu Ehren.”

*Arms*: Inscriptions from the arms of Geneva, and reference to a more detailed account in his *Itinerarium*, p. 603, which shows that his *Journal* or *Itinerary* must have been a very extensive work.

*Libraries*: He gives inscriptions of St. Jacobs in Hamburg, of University College in Oxford, the Vatican in Rome and the Capucin Monastery in Orleans, reproducing the long inscription of Oxford which mentions John Selden, John Vaughan and Matthew Hale.

*Senate-houses & Guild-halls*: Mention of Augsburg, Haerlem, Baden in Ergau, the Hague, Geneva, Regensburg, the Curia in Rome.

*Prisons*: Prison de l'Abbaye S. Germain: “Justitia elevat Gentem. Prov. xiiii,” only one mentioned.

*Armories, or Magazins for weapons*: Mention of Armory in Augsburg, Toulouse, Avignon, Venice, etc.

*Utensils of War*: Standards in London Tower, with the following remark:

“Zu London im Towr auff einem hültzern mit Eisenfarb überstrichenem geschütz, wormit die Engelland einst eine statt in Franckreich erschreckt, dasz sie sich übergab: Marte quid opus est cui Minerva non deest?”

References to inscriptions on famous pieces of artillery in Schaffhausen, Ulm, Naples, Geneva and Munich. The latter is particularly interesting:

“Jch heiss der Hahn,  
Wann ich kräh fiht der Mañ.”

*Treasure-houses, Mints, Coins, etc.*: Those of Dort and Antwerp, Braunschweig and Lüneburg noted. The latter is brief and to the point: “Rerum Nervus Pecunia.” An elaborate description is given of Cromwell’s coin with the motto: “Pax quaritur Bello;” also of the silver coin of Bologna with the words: “Bononia Mater Studiorum;” and the copper with the words: “Bononia docet;” also the motto of Queen Elizabeth’s coin celebrating the defeat of the Armada: “Afflavit Deus, & dissipantur.”

*Burses or Royal Exchanges*: Inscriptions from the new Bourse in Antwerp and of the Bourse in Bordeaux.

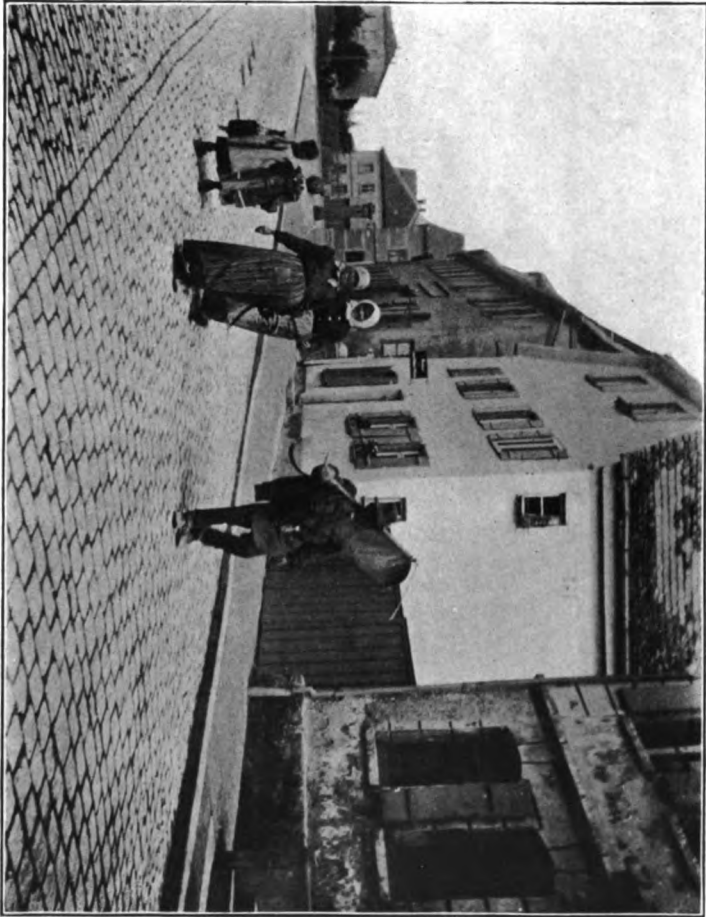
*Palaces*: Inscription from Rome, the Schloss in Mainz, Madrit near Paris: “Hodie mihi Cras tibi;” the papal residence at Avignon, the Louvre in Paris. In the palace at Bologna: “Unanimitas stabile firmamentum.”

*Private Dwelling-houses*: At Nürnberg a house has this motto:

“Es gönn mir einer was er will,  
So geb’ ihm Gott dreymal so viel.”

In Basel:

Glick harin, Unglick hinaus;  
Pfaenberg heiszt disz Haus.”



STREET SCENE IN WINDSHEIM (1903).





In Amsterdam :

“Si Deus pro Nobis, Quis contra Nobis?”

In Lyons :

“L'on n'a rien sans peine.”

“Avisé toy premier que moy.”

“Non domo Dominus, sed Domino domus.”

At Paris :

“Jn Fundulo, sed avito.”

“Parva domus, sed amica bonis, procul este profani;  
Amplior in Coelo domus est & amenior hortus.”

“Within this place  
Lives Dr. Case.”

*Fountains:* In front of Notre Dame in Paris, St. Germain. Fontaine de Birague, at Lyons, Rome, etc.

*Bridges, etc.:* Mention of Pont Notre Dame in Paris, Pont Neuf in Toulouse, stone bridge in Montaubon and especially the Mainbrücke in Frankfurt with this inscription :

“Wer dieser Brücken Freyheit bricht  
Dem wird sein frefflich Handt gericht.”

*Statues:* Inscriptions of statue of Erasmus in Rotterdam, statue of Carolus I in London, of the birth place of Carolus V in Ghent, of Henry IV Pont Neuf, and of Louis XIII in the Place Royale in Paris, etc.

An English traveller wrote on the wall in red the following in the little birth chamber of Carolus V :

“Quem locus angustus nascenti sufficit, Orbis qui mox regnanti non satis amplus erat? Sit licet angustus locus hic, Angustior iste est, Jn quo defunctus nunc jacet ille, locus.”

*Inscriptions on Glass-Windows, Tobacco-Boxes, Knives, etc.:*  
Glass :

“A fool did write this, I confess,  
And thou that read it, art not less.  
Stulto me, stultior ipse.”

Box :

“Sit down & smoke and merry be,  
And thank my Masters Courtesie.”  
“A Box well filled is a rich & plenteous Store,  
Take many Pipes thereout at last there is no more.”

Messer :

“I am my Masters trusty Friend,  
If he too oft me do not lend.”

At the side of a bedstead :

“At Six a Clock at night thou sayst thy work is done ;  
Pray, husband, say not before the rising Sun.”

*Inscriptiones Albi Amicorum :*

“Ich gebe dir mein Herz,  
lass du mir deines hier,  
So gehet unter uns,  
Ein schöner Wechsel für.”

“Soyez officieux a tous,  
Familiar à peu,  
& intime à un seul.”

“Fac ea quæ moriens facta fuisse voles.”  
“Non far male a chi ti puo far peggio.”

*Miscellaneous :*

Above William Temple's Picture or Image :

“Servare modum, finemq' tueri, Naturanq' sequi.”

*Thoughts of America.*

The journey with Bodeck had afforded Pastorius opportunity to see the best culture of Western Europe. He had visited Holland, which through its great contemporaneous poet, Vondel (died in 1679), had furnished dramatic models for the German poet Gryphius and had been the refuge of the Puritans and persecuted

Protestants of many lands. He had seen England, the arena of the great struggles for civil and religious liberty. He had traversed France, which had long set the fashion for German courts and was now in the height of the classic period of its literature with the great poets Corneille, Molière and Racine. And he had looked out over the summits of the Alps, the snowy seats of republican liberty, the land of Tell and Winkelried. The journey had vastly widened his horizon and enriched his knowledge of the world. But it had done more. It had crystallized his philosophy of life. In the rounds of festivity with Bodeck he had observed the foibles and follies of high life and had come to the firm conviction that the life of religious quiet and serious purpose is the higher ideal. At two places only in his long journey, at Ghent and Cambridge, had he found men of a spirit kindred to his own, who lived in daily devotion to christian duty; while on the other hand, in Orleans, Paris, Avignon, Marseilles, Lyons and Geneva he found thousands of his own countrymen wasting their time, energies and substance on the fripperies of life—dancing, fencing and the like—accomplishments considered at that time essential to the education of a gentleman.

It was with a sense of relief and release that Pastorius returned to the little group of pietists in Frankfurt, his old friends of the Saalhof, and experienced anew that inner joy which sprang from their simple, earnest lives. He had now finally found associations which satisfied the spiritual yearnings of his better self and was content to renounce all the glint and glare of the world. This quiescent attitude of soul is well described in the *Beehive* in the following part of a passage to be cited entire further on:<sup>25</sup>

“And for as much as J after this my Return was glad to enjoy the ancient familiarity of my former Acquaintances (rather than to be with the aforesd von Bodeck feasting, dancing &c.) especially of those Christian Friends who frequently assembled together in a house, called the Saalhof.”

---

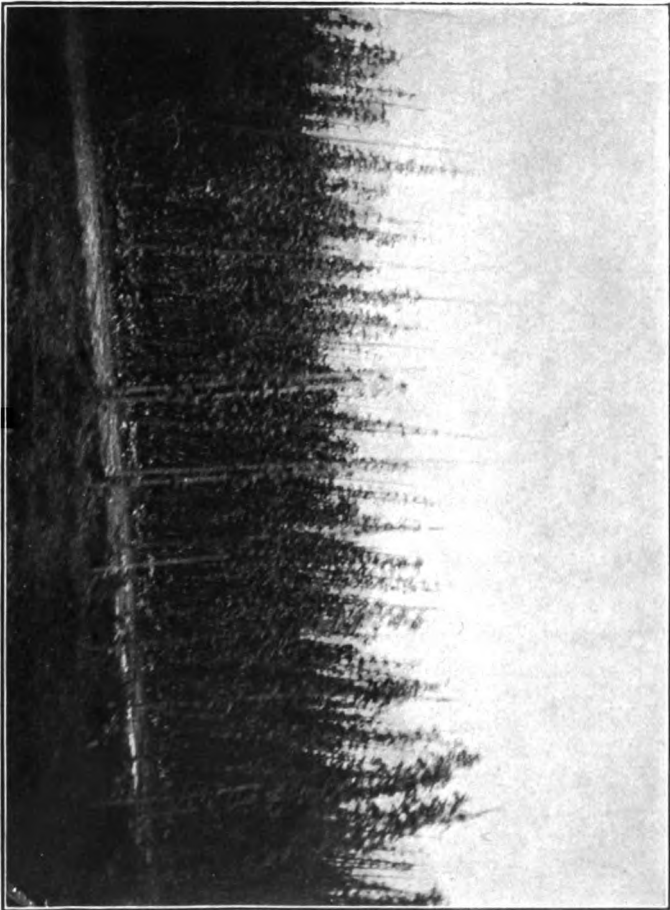
<sup>25</sup> Cf.

The psychology of this change in Pastorius' spiritual life and ideals and his transition to the attitude of the Pietist and even of the Quietist is significant in the history of the religious movements of the time. The assumption that this change in the case of Pastorius was the more or less sudden and immediate result of his association with the Pietists seems unfounded, if we may trust his own statements.<sup>28</sup>

As early as the year 1692 Pastorius set forth the facts of his spiritual evolution in the preface to his account of Pennsylvania, which was printed as an appendix to his father's *Geschichte des H. R. Reichs Stadt Windsheim*, and later extended into the *Beschreibung* of 1700. It summarizes his religious evolution so well that we quote it here in English translation:

"It is well enough known to my family how, from childhood, I directed my course in this temporal life toward a happy eternity, and made it my concern in all my doings to understand the will of God, which alone is good, to fear his omnipotence, and to learn to love his unfathomable goodness. And, although I successfully completed the study of jurisprudence, together with the other branches of the Liberal Arts, thoroughly mastered the Italian and French languages, and also took the so-called Great Tour through foreign lands, I nevertheless applied my greatest industry and efforts, at all times and places, solely to find out where and among what people and nations true devotion, the knowledge and fear of God, might best be met with and acquired. I found at the Universities scholars almost without number, faiths, opinions and sects, so that it was a great babble and show of vain wordly wisdom, of which the Apostle says: *Scientia Inflat*, But I cannot truthfully write that I found in any place a professor who directed the mind of a boy or a pupil to the pure love of Jesus or the Holy Trinity. There is, indeed, no lack of christians in name and profession, who go about puffed up with worldly knowledge, and love the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life (the trifolium of the Devil!), but of those who thought of working out their salvation with fear and trembling, lived without deceit, and with all their heart turned the centre of their existence in God, the highest good, there was *rara avis in terris*. Nevertheless, I found, at last, in the Univer-

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Beehive*, p. 223.



HOP FIELD NEAR WINDSHEIM (1903).



sity of Cambridge and in the city of Ghent, some devoted men living in secret seclusion from the world and wholly resigned in spirit to God, who, in answer to my earnest inquiries, gave me many good instructions, and strengthened me greatly in my purpose. They also showed me, at the Princely Court of Ghent, Emperor Charles the Fifth's famous birth chamber (but four ells long and four ells wide) with the legend telling how a richly bound Bible was given to the new-born prince by his godfather, with this inscription in gold, bound in the book: *Scrutamini Scripturas*, which the Prince, moreover, read with diligence and learned therefrom that he must die depending on the merits of Jesus Christ alone.

I saw further on this journey of mine, at Orleans and Paris, Avignon, Marsailles, Lyons and Geneva, many thousand young Germans, mostly of the nobility, who are accustomed to follow the vanities of dress, speech, foreign manners and ceremonies, and incur incredible expense in learning to mount, to ride, to dance, to fence, to bear piques and standards, so that a great part of their German patrimony is expended on useless worldly vanity, while not a single thought is given to the love of God and learning to follow Christ, which is well pleasing to God. Moreover, if anyone attempts to say anything of the writings and divine meditations of St. Augustine, Tauler, Arnd, and other divines, he must be proclaimed a Pietist and a heretic; and no one who is submerged in the worldly wisdom of Aristotle, will consent to be persuaded or chastened by the will of God.

Accordingly after the close of my journey, I withdrew into the retirement of my chamber and recalled to mind everything which had passed before my eyes on the stage of the world, and could not find any enduring pleasure in anything. I despaired, moreover, that any place could be found in my native land or all Germany for those to come after me, where one might abandon the old habit of empty *operis operati* and enter the pure love of God with the whole heart, mind and strength and love his neighbor as himself.

I reasoned thus with myself, whether it were not better to teach the learning which I had received by grace from the highest Giver and Father of Lights to the new-found American peoples of Pennsylvania and thus make them partakers of the true knowledge of the Holy Trinity and true Christianity."

It would appear from this document that Pastorius' spiritual awakening was the result of long years of quest for the truth and piety, and rather a typical illustration of the rise of Pietism than



a product of Pietism after it took more tangible form under the influence of Spener; in a word, that Pastorius, like Spener himself, was an exponent of the great religious awakening of the second half of the seventeenth century, the mature fruit of the labors of Tauler, Luther and Arnd. As a participant in the religious events of his time, he would naturally have read important contemporaneous literature representing the various phases of the movement, but there is no evidence that before his return to Frankfurt in November, 1682, he had allied himself with any separatistic sect. He sought spiritual regeneration, not doctrinal reform. This naturally brought him into sympathy with the Frankfurt Pietists and kindred spirits elsewhere in Germany, Holland and England, and determined the course of his later years, leading him finally to seek a quiet religious retreat in the wilds of the new world.

#### *William Penn and the Quakers.*

While Pastorius was thus like hundreds of his time finding his way to a higher spiritual life along the way of introspection, the Quakers, moved by the same spirit, were quietly winning new believers in Holland and Germany by making more or less systematic propaganda among the Mennonite communities as far as the Middle Rhine. The missionary labors of William Ames in Holland and Germany (1655-1662), of William Caton (1656-1665), of Stephen Crisp (1663-1684), of George Rolf, John Stubb, John Higgins, William Moore had all touched the Mennonites of the Middle Rhine and most of them had extended into the Rhenish Palatinate, arousing the ire of the orthodox Lutherans and Catholics alike. In 1671 William Penn made his first visit to these regions in the interests of the Quaker faith, and in 1677 he made a second visit in the same cause. It was this second visit which opened the way for the great German emigration to Pennsylvania of which Pastorius became the pioneer.

Penn set out July 26, 1677, with George Fox, Robert Barc-

lay, George Keith, George Watts, John Furley, William Tallcoat, Isabelle Yeomans and Elizabeth Keith from Harwich to attend a General Meeting of Friends (Quakers) in Amsterdam, where a congregation or meeting had already existed for twenty years. At this General Meeting fifteen general resolutions were agreed upon, the third of which clearly defined the limits of Quaker territory and announced the definite policy of uniting all Quakers within this territory in the great Yearly Meeting at Amsterdam. The resolution runs as follows:

"It is Agreed upon, that henceforth a Yearly Meeting be held here at Amsterdam; unto which Friends in the Palatinate, Hambrough, Lubeck and Frederickstadt, &c. be invited: Of which Meeting there shall be given Notice to Friends of the Yearly Meeting at London, to be kept always on the fifth day of that Week; which is fully the third Week following after the Yearly Meeting at London."<sup>27</sup>

After this General Meeting in Amsterdam, George Fox and his party set out to visit Friends in Emden, Bremen, Hamburg and Frisia, while William Penn, accompanied by William Keith, Robert Barclay and Benjamin Furley, an English merchant then residing in Rotterdam, turned their steps to Germany to visit the Friends along the Rhine. They went by boat to Naerden, thence by stage by way of Osnabrück to Herwerden in Westphalia, where they called upon the abbess of the convent there, Princess Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of Frederick V, Prince Palatine of the Rhine and niece of Charles I of England. On the 13th of August Penn, Keith and Furley took leave of Barclay at Herwerden and continued their journey by way of Paderborn and Kassel, arriving August 20th in Frankfurt-on-the-Main. They held a meeting

---

<sup>27</sup> Cf. An | Account | of | W. Penn's | Travails | in | Holland and Germany, | Anno MDCLXXVII. | For the Service of the Gospel | of Christ, | by way of Journal. | Containing also Divers Letters and | Epistles writ to several Great and | Eminent Persons whilst there. | The Second Impression, Corrected by | the Author's own Copy, with answers to some of | the Letters, not before Printed. | London, Printed and Sold by T. Sowle, in White- | Hart-Court in Grace-Church-Street. 1695. (Pp. 8-9.)

at night at the house of Jacobus van de Walle and the next morning, by invitation of Eleonora von Merlau, at the house of Widow Bauer von Eiseneck, with whom Eleonora von Merlau was then living. Leaving Frankfurt, Penn and his companions went to Worms and Kriegsheim (August 23), Frankenthal (August 24), back to Kriegsheim (August 26), Worms again (August 27), Mainz and back to Frankfurt (August 28). They held another meeting in the afternoon at the house of the "Noble Women" (Widow Bauer von Eiseneck and Eleonora von Merlau) and later at the house of van de Walle. Leaving Frankfurt they continued their journey down the Rhine to Mainz and Hambach (?) (August 29), Bacharach, Coblenz and Tressy (?) (August 30), Köln (August 31), Duisburg and Mühlheim-on-the-Ruhr (September 2), back to Duisburg (September 3), Wesel (September 4), Emmerich and Cleve (September 5), Nimegen (September 6), Utrecht and Amsterdam (September 7).<sup>28</sup>

The religious importance of this visit of Penn and his Quaker companions to Frankfurt lay in the fact that it made a deep impression on the minds of certain members of the Pietistic circle, of which Spener was the central figure, giving a new impetus to their religious zeal. It appears, however, that Spener himself held aloof from the Quaker meetings and avoided meeting Penn. In his *Journal* Penn, speaking of the visit to Frankfurt, says:

"Two considerable Persons came and met us about half a German Mile from the City; informing us of several well affected in that Town. Upon which we told them the end of our coming, and desired to have a Meeting with them in the Afternoon, which we easily obtained at the House of a Merchant [van de Walle], one of the two that met us. The Persons that resorted thither were generally People of considerable Note, both of Calvinists and Lutherans."<sup>29</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Cf. O. Seidensticker, *William Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany* (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, II. 281-282).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *An Account of Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany, etc.* (1695), pp. 55-56.

Mein Epitaphium:

IESVS Christus meine Liebe ist für mich gecreuet  
iget, Gestorben, und begraben, Aber am Dritten Tage  
in meinem Fleische als mein Haupt wider aufgestanden  
Nun bin ich sein Glied, und habe ihn Leibgattig bey mir,  
darumb kann es nicht möglich sein, das Er sein Glied nit  
soltte mit auffter decken lassen

Joh. 6. u. 54. Wie mein  
Fleisch isset und trincket  
mein Blut, der bleibet in  
mir und ich in ihm u. ich  
worte ihn am jüngsten  
Tage aufzuerwecken.



Joh. 19. u. 29. Ich weiß  
das mein Erlöser lebt  
und Er wird mich hernach  
auf der Erden aufwecken  
und ich werde in meinem  
Fleische Gott sehen.

MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS. I. C. ward geboren  
in der Statt Eßfurt den 22. Sept. 1624. Durch Martinum  
Pastorium I. C. Des Chur Mayntzischen Gericht Assessorum  
und durch Brigitten eine geborne Flinkbergginn. Absoluirte  
daselbst. seine studia Humaniora, nachgehend zu Würzburg  
Philosophiam, und zu Rom Iuris prudentiam. Neuch besuch-  
tigten Antiquitäten und Stätten Italiæ reiseete er im  
Monat Septembris Anno 1648. in Franckreich, Besuche Paris  
Auers, Lyon, und andere uornehme ortt, kehrte durch  
die Schweiz, und nach dem er Straßburg, Basel, Tübingen,  
Stückart, Insbruck, Saltzburg Augspürg Münden Landtsful  
King Wien Preßburg, Nürnberg Franckfurt, Trier, und uol  
andere ortt besuchiget hatte, kam er endlich durch Höf-  
rats nach Sommerhausen, zeigete einen Sohn, von dar kam er  
abermahl durch Höf rats im monat Ianuario Anno 1658  
nach der Windischeimb. Daselbsten er den 30 Septemb. 1659  
in den Rath gewöhlet, und bald daruff zum älttern Bau-  
Herrn, Scholareßen Landtsfür Herren, und Anführern  
der Gemeind und Golttsaus Ruchnungen uff dem Lande Vor-  
ordnet wurde. Den 30 Sept. Ao. 1669 ward er zum älttern  
Bürgermeister. Ao. 1681 zum älttern Hospital Pflieger und  
endlich den 30 Sept. 1692. zum Statt Ober Richter ge-  
wöhlet und durch die Röm. Kay. Maj. durch ein gewöhlich  
Diploma sub dato den 18 Maj. 1693. bestättiget. etat. 69.  
Er starb den 4 februario in Nürnberg zu anno

EPITAPH OF MELCHIOR ADAM PASTORIUS,  
Written by himself (from the "Liber Intimissimus").



But not all of the attendants upon these meetings were as cautious as Spener. In some the enthusiasm rose to the pitch of martyrdom. This was particularly the case with Eleonora von Merlau, as Penn tells us in one of the finest passages of his *Journal*:

“Therefore said the Young Virgin [Eleonora von Merlau], Our Quarters are free for you, let all come that will come, and lift up your Voices without fear, for (said she) it will never be well with us till Persecution come, and some of us be lodged in the Stadthouse, That is the Prison.”

The visit of Penn and the Quakers in Frankfurt in 1677, stirring as it was at the time, might have remained only a religious episode, had not other more secular events given it a new significance. While it is possible that Pastorius was more or less influenced by the spiritual tenor of the life of the Quakers, as well as that of the Frankfurt Pietists, during his journey with Bodeck, it is not likely that his interest would have gone beyond religious friendship and sympathy without some new impetus. The event which gave a new importance to these visits of Penn and the Quakers in the Rhine Country was the proprietorship of the Province of Pennsylvania granted by the King of England to William Penn, the great Quaker, in the year 1681, about the time of Pastorius' journey to England with Bodeck.<sup>80</sup>

The fact that Penn had become proprietor of a great province in America and was now inviting his German friends to come and settle in these new lands lifted him out of the role of a religious enthusiast to that of a provincial lord, offering a quiet retreat to the perturbed and persecuted of the old world. Penn's *Account*,<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Cf. *An Account of Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany, etc.* (1695), p. 57.

<sup>81</sup> Some | Account | of the | Province | of | Pennsylvania | in | America ; | Lately Granted under the Great Seal | of | England | to | William Penn, & c | Together with Priviledges and Powers neces- | sary to the well-governing thereof. | Made publick for the Information of such as are or may be | disposed to Transport themselves or Servants | into those Parts. | London: Printed, and Sold by Benjamin Clark | Bookseller in George-Yard Lombard-Street, 1681.

published in London in 1681, and published in Dutch<sup>32</sup> in Rotterdam, and in German<sup>33</sup> in Amsterdam, the same year, came as a new message of glad good news to all the Quaker and Mennonite communities of Holland and the Rhine, opening the way to a new paradise of religious tranquility beyond the sea.

This new scheme of colonization in Pennsylvania was the subject of ardent discussion in the Pietistic circle at Frankfurt when Pastorius returned from his journey in November, 1682. Some of the circle had already decided to emigrate, and were making preparations for the journey. At first they kept the matter concealed from Pastorius, but finally, seeing that he was seriously interested in the scheme, they gradually disclosed the secret to him. He speaks of three forms of information which they gave him of the scheme. First, they often spoke of William Penn, referring doubtless to his religious views and his personal character.

<sup>32</sup> Een kort Bericht | Van de Provintie ofte Landschap | Penn-Sylvania | genaemt, leggende in | America; | Nu onlangs onder het groote Zegel van Engeland | gegeven aan | William Penn, &c. | mitsgaders | Van de Privilegien, ende Macht om | het selve wel to Regeeren. | Uyt het Engels overgeset na de Copeye tot Londen gedrukt by Benja | min Clark, Boekverkooper in George Yard Lombardstreet. 1681. | Waer by nu gevoegt is de Notificatie van s' Konings Placcact | in date van den 2 April 1681, waar inne de tegenwoordige | Inwoonders van Penn-Sylvania, belast word | William Penn en zijn Erfgenamed, als volkomene | Eygenaars en Gouverneurs, te gehoorsamen. | Als mede, | De Copeye van een Brief by de selven W. P. geschreven aan | zekete Regeeringe Anno 1675. tegens de Vervolginge | en voor de Vryheyt van Conscientie, aan alle &c. | Tot Rotterdam. | Gedrukt by Pieter van Wynbrugge, Boek-Drukker in de | Leenwestraat, in de Wereld Vol-Druk. Anno 1681.

<sup>33</sup> Eine | Nachricht | wegen der Landschaft | Pennsylvania | in | America: | Welche | Jüngstens unter dem Grossen Siegel | in | Engelland | an | William Penn, &c. | Sambt den Freyheiten und der Macht | so zu behöriger | guten Regierung derselben nötig | übergeben worden | und | Zum Unterricht derer | so etwan bereits bewogen | oder noch | möchten bewogen werden | umb sich selbst darhin | zu begeben | oder einige Bediente und Gesinde | an diesen Ort zu senden | hiermit kund gethan wird. | Aus dem in London gedrucktem und aldar bey Benjamin Clarck | Buchhändlern in George-Yard Lombardstreet befindlichem | Englischen übersetzt. | Nebenst beygefügtem ehemaligem im 1675. Jahr gedrucktem | Schreiben des oberwehnten Will. Penns. | In Amsterdam | gedruckt bey Christoff Cunraden. | Im Jahr 1681.

Second, they showed him private letters of Benjamin Furly, the great promoter of the scheme in Holland and Germany, who may have given them particulars concerning the matter contained in the *Information and Direction*<sup>84</sup> published in 1681. Thirdly, they communicated to him also a "printed Relation," which, doubtless, refers to Penn's *Account* mentioned above. In the *Res Proprie*<sup>85</sup> Pastorius speaks of "verschiedene relation schreiben," read by him, which would seem to show that he might have seen other printed matter, such as the *Information and Direction*, as well as Penn's *Account*.

The earliest extant official document<sup>85a</sup> relating to a transaction in connection with Pastorius is the authorization, or power of attorney, given to Pastorius by a number of the first purchasers of land in Pennsylvania, bearing date April 2, 1683. The document committed to Pastorius "the care and Administration of all their Estate, lands and Rights which they lawfully obtained there of William Penn." He was to "conserve in the best form of Law the things themselves, the Possession thereof and other rights," "Order the tillage of the ground," "Hire Labourers, grant part of the land to others, take the yearly Revenue or Rents" and all other functions of administration, "all sorts of alienation and mortgaging excepted."

A sum of money was given to the agent for this purpose, and he was to render a yearly account to his constituents or their heirs, but the constituents were "not to be obliged to any man by all his doings and contracts." The agent's compensation was to be what is "reasonable" from "the expected Income or Rents in Pennsylvania." This most cautiously worded instrument was signed by Jacobus van de Walle, for himself and as attorney for Johann Wilhelm Peterson and his wife, Eleonore von Merlau

<sup>84</sup> Information and Direction | to | Such Persons as are inclined | to | America, | more | Especially Those related to the Province | of | Pennsylvania.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *Res. Proprie*, p. 6.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. S. W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown*.



(Petersen), Daniel Behaghel, Johann Jacob Schütz, Caspar Merian, Francis Daniel Pastorius.

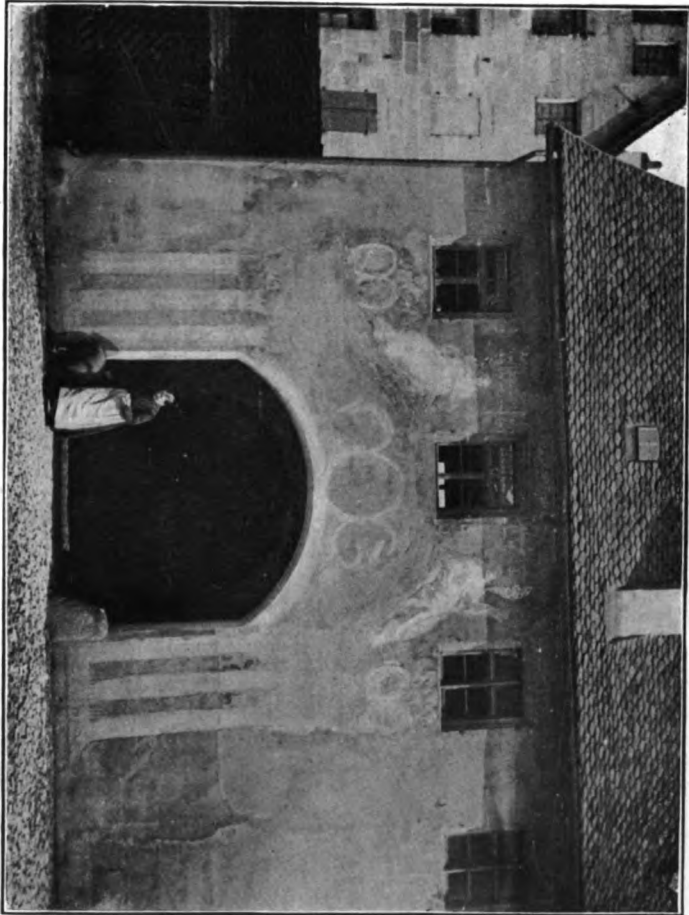
The next record we have states that Pastorius bought in London (between May 8 and June 6, 1683), 15,000 acres of land for the Frankfurt company. This seems to be the status of the transactions at the time when Pastorius sailed for America on the ship *America*, June 6, 1683.

The account of the events leading up to the departure for America are well summed up by Pastorius in the *Beehive*:

“And forasmuch as J after this my Return was glad to enjoy the ancient familiarity of my former Acquaintances (rather than to be with the aforesd von Bodeck, feasting, dancing &c.) especially of those Christian Friends, who frequently assembled together in a house, called the Saalhof, viz. Dr. Spenner, Dr. Schutz, Notarius Fenda, Jacobus van de Walle, Maximilian (by-named the pious) Lersner, Eleonora von Merlau, Maria Juliana Baurin, &c. who sometimes made mention of William Penn & of Pennsylvania, and moreover communicated unto me as well some private letters from Benjamin Furly, as also a printed Relation concerning the sd province, and finally the whole Secret could not be withholden from me, viz. that they purchased 15000. Acres of land in this remote part of the world, some<sup>36</sup> of 'em entirely resolv'd to transport themselves, families & all; this begat such a desire in my Soul to continue in their Society, and with them to lead a quiet, godly & honest life in a Howling wilderness, (which J observed to be a heavy Task for any to perform among the bad examples & numberless Vanitates Vanitatum in Europe,) that by several Letters J requested of my sd Father his Consent & approbation, and at length Obtained the same, with a Bill of Exchange of 250. rixdollars; Thereupon J sent a large Chest full of Books & other Rarities by me heretofore gathered as a free Gift to my brother Johaães Samuel Pastorius, and after One weeks Visit, wch J gave to Friends at Krisheim, to wit,

<sup>36</sup> In the *Res Proprieæ* we have the following additional details:

“auch bereits einige gottfürchtende Menschen [unter welchen Xtian Fend und Frau Baurin,] sich dorthin zu transportiren entschlossen, u. allschon zusam̄ gepackt hatten, entstund eine nicht geringe begierd bey mir, in ihrer Gesellschaft mit überzusegeln, u. daselbst ( : nach überflüssig gesehenen u. gekosteten Europaeischen Eitelkeiten :) nebenst Jhnen ein still und Christlich leben zu führen.”



ENTRANCE TO UNIVERSITY OF ALTDORF,  
With Mural Paintings Inside the Court (1903).



Peter Shoemaker, Gerhard Henrix, Arnold Cassel, &c., J prepared myself for this the farthermost Journey, that J as yet ever had done or dreamed of. Anno 1683. the 2nd of April J set out from Francfort, came the 5th of ditto to Collein, where J was kindly received of David van Enden, Danniell Mitz and ..... Dozen, the then Resident of the King of Denmark in the sd City, [this Dozen had strong Inclinations for Pennsylvania & desired me to prevail with his wife, but her Reply was that there they were carried in a Coach from one door to the other, but if they should happen to some hither, she was afraid that she must look after the Cattle, and milk her cows, &c.] and the 11th ditto all along upon the Rein to Oerdingen, from whence J went a foot to Crefelt and there did speak to Denis kundens & his wife, Dirk, Herman & Abraham op den Graeff, &c. who with many others came about Six weeks after me into the aforesd Province. The 16th ditto J arrived at Rotterdam, Lodged with our Friend Marieke Vettekucke; saw here Benjamin Furly, Peter Hendrics, Jacob Tellner, &c. The 4th of May J sailed from Rotterdam accompanied by Tob. Lud. Kohlhans, and the servant, then with me, and came the 8th of ditto to London, taking our Lodging at John Hodgkins in Lombard Street. After J had done my business with Hellmont & those J had letters for, J with Jacob Shoemaker (who came with me from Mentz,) George Wertmuller, Jsaac Dilbeek, his wife Marieke & his two boys Abraham & Jacob, Thomas Gasper, Cunrad Backer, (alias Rutter,) and an English Maid, called Frances Simson, went a board of a Ship, which had the name of America, (the Captain whereof was Joseph Wasey,) and being gone the 6th of June from Gravesend,<sup>87</sup> we arrived the 7th ditto at Deal, and left England the 10th of the sd month of June, and saw the 16th of August this new World, arriving the 18th ditto in the Bay of Delaware, and the 20th ditto at Philadelphia. Post Francofortum Fessus Desidero Portum. This our sd Passage described more at large, my sons may find in the abovesd Journal or Jtinerary in 8<sup>o</sup> as likewise many of my Transactions for & in behalf of Others in a Manuscript in 4<sup>o</sup> so that it is altogether needless to repeat it here, &c."

The most interesting facts about our early German settlers in America and the most difficult to obtain are those relating to domestic and private life. In the case of Pastorius we are for-

---

<sup>87</sup> In the *Res Proprieae* Pastorius states that he arrived in Gravesend June 3d.

tunate in having a record of many of these personal details in his own manuscript notes and memoranda, where we find the following relating to his life in Germany and his journey to the new world:

Children to whom I was godfather.

1670. 25. July. Johann Caspar Mercklein's little son, to whom the name Frantz Jacob was given.
1677. 6. Aug. the saltpeterboiler Michael Schmidt's little son, to whom the name Frantz Daniel was given.
1678. 18. May I stood sponsor with Doctor Ludwig Hartmann for Johann Joachim Marcklein's little son, to whom the name Ludwig Frantz was given.

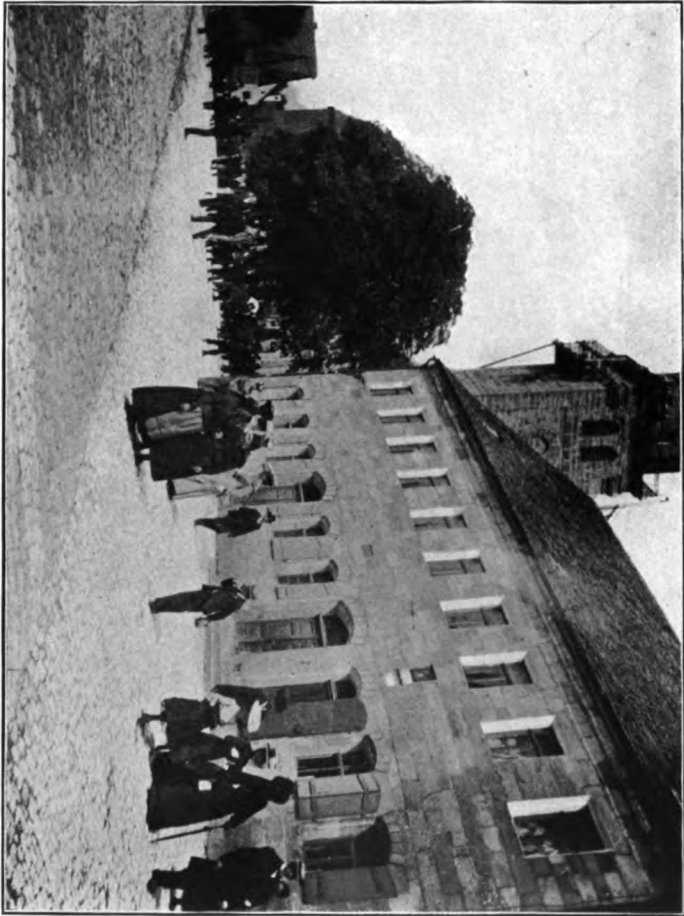
Important Weddings I have attended.

1663. 31. July. at my [step] brother Joh. Ludwig Johm's wedding in Ansbach.
1675. 20. April, in Beyreut at the wedding of Georg Roth, Secretary of the Court of Fees, in that place, who married Adam Volckmann's eldest daughter, Anna Maria, my last stepmother's sister.
- 6. July, best man at D. Grimm's [wedding] at Segnitz.
1679. — at Wolfgang Beyern's [wedding] in Windsheim.
- 12. August, at Joh. Martin Müller's [wedding] in Frankfurt-on the Main.
1680. 27. January, at [wedding] of M. Rhein and Je. Sultzer.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Res Propriae*.

Kinder, so ich aus der Tauff gehoben.

1670. 25. Jul. Hn. Johan Caspar Merckleins Söhnlein, deme der Nahm Frantz Jacob gegeben wurde.
1677. 6. Aug. des Saltpetersieder Michael Schmidt's Söhnlein, deme der Nahm Frantz Daniel gegeben.
1678. 18. May hub ich nebenst Hn. Doctor Ludwig Hartman Hn. Johan Joachim Merckleins Söhnlein, deme der Nahm Ludwig Frantz gegeben worden.
- , Principale Hochzeiten, worauff ich gewest.
1663. 31. Jul. Zu Onspach auff mein bruder Joh. Ludwig Johma.
1675. 20. Apr. Zu Beyreut auff Georg Rothens, Lehen Secretarius, daselbst,



STREET SCENE IN ALTDORF (1903).



In the case of Pastorius we have an accurate account<sup>89</sup> of the money which he received during his years of study and upon his departure for Pennsylvania, and the names of the persons who furnished it. He summarizes as follows:

“NB. Von meinem L. Vatter hab ich von Zeit zu Zeit auff Universitäten u. sonst empfang.....	949 rthlr.
und endlich, als pag. seq. noch.....	250
	<hr/>
	1199 rthlr.
Auch von meiner stieffmutter Greulichen.....	15
Von verschiedenen Freunden, da ich nach Strassburg zog .....	17
Von meiner stieffmutter olckmännin.....	12
Von Juncker Bodeck, als nach Peñsilv. reiste.....	20
	<hr/>
Tot pereunt cum Tempore Numi.....	1263 rthlr.

In another part of the same manuscript Pastorius gives an inventory of the effects which he brought with him on the journey to Pennsylvania. The list is prefaced by a brief reference to his money in the form of a letter of credit. The original, showing he had £81 in American (English) money of the time, runs as follows:

Toda domus Codri rheda componitur una.

Anno 1683. als ich aus Teutschland nach Peñsilvanien verreisete hatte ich an paarem geld m. Martio, 270 reichsthaler nemblich 20 reichsthaler so ich von Juncker Bodeck kriegte, und 250 reichsthaler die mir mein Vatter mitgab, u. Jacobus van de Walle, einen Weertbrieff von gedm meinem Vatter habende,

welcher sich verheurathet an Adam Volckmañs älteste Tochter Anna Maria, meiner letzten Stieffmutter Schwester.

- 6. Jul. zu Segnitz auff D. Grimmens Brautführer, welcher Nicolaus Eichen tochter Magdalen heurathete, die meine Mutter anno 1652. 25. Sept. aus der Tauff gehoben, u. mein liebe Gespielin war.
1679. 12. Aug. zu Franckfurt auff. Joh. Martin Müller. Zu Winsheim auff Wolfgang Beverns.
1680. 27. Jan. ibid. auff M. Rheinen mit Je. Sultzerin.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *Res Propriae*, p. 14.



theils selbst zu Franckfurt bezahlte, theils durch Benj. Furly zu Rotterdam, und den rest durch Herman Olmius zu Londen bezahlen liesz.

Macht diese meine wenige Paarschafft in diszländischem geld 81 £.

Ferner nahm ich mit mir an Silberwerck

Ein Sackührgen, so ich in Engelland eintauschte gegen deme, welches mir Frau Baurin verehrt hatte.

Meine gewöhnlichen löfel.

Neun Dutzend glatte knöpf.

Drey paar Hembder knöpf.

An Messing &c.

Einen Ring ex Mercurio coagulato.

Mein pettschafft mit silbern plättg F D P.

Ein zusammenfaltende gold wag in kupferner Tos.

Ein tabac Tos. Zwey Circuln.

Ein Soñenweiser. Zwey Schnupftabac büchsgen.

Ein bleyweis-feder. Schueschnallen.

Ein metalln Glöcklein.

An Zinn und Blech.

Ein Butterbüchs, die mir Doctor Schütz zur reisgedächtniss gab.

Zwey rieb-eisgen. 6. Dutzend ziñerne Knöpf.

Ein breit feder-rohr. Futteral zur Tabackpfeif.

Ein dreyeckigte büchs. Hosen sacken.

An Eisen.

Zwey Schlüsselring. Ein schuesporn. Zwey Vorhangschlösser.

Stahlerne Schueschnallen.

An Messern &c.

Ein taschenmesser mit schiltkroten hefft.

Ein anders mit hirschbeinen hefft.

Ein weisz messer u. gabel. Zwey federmesser.

Drey Scheer-messer. Zwey Scheeren.

An Bein und Horn.

Ein helffenbein, papier zu falten.



TOWER AT ALTDORF IN 1903.  
(University End of the Town.)



Zwey Zahnbürstg. Ein rothlöfelgen.  
Poudrebeutel Hautb. Zwey biesem büxgen.  
Schreibzeug. Zwey Schnuptabac Tosgen.  
Etliche Käm.

An Gläsern.

Ein Perspectiv. Zwey Ferngläser.  
Ein paar augen gläser. Ein Spiegel.

An andern Dingen.

Ein Flintenrohr, so mir Jacobus van de Walle verehrt.  
Ein Scheermesserstein. Ein blau probstein.

An Linenzeug.

Zwölf neue, und etliche alte Hembder.  
Acht Schloff- und Drey Paruquen mützgen.  
Sechszehn lange Halsbinden.  
Zwölf weise- und acht gefärbte nastücher.  
Sechs paar weisz leinen Strümpf.  
Acht paar Socken. Ein lange Handquell.

An Kleidern.

Zwey gestrickte Schloffmützen.  
Zwey Hauben aus schwarzem Krep.  
Ein Haub von braunem Krep.  
Zwey graue Hüt.  
Ein blauen Mantel.  
Ein braun tüchern langen Oberrock.  
Zwey lackene röck mit zwey paar Hosen.  
Ein tüchern- und Ein ledern Camisol.  
Ein weisz Zeugen Camisol. Ein ledern Gürtel.  
Ein paar lederne Hosen.  
Zwey paar lederne strümpf.  
Zwey paar gestrickte strümpf.  
Ein paar Handschue.  
Zwey paar Schue. Ein paar Pantofeln.  
Ein paar überzihstiefel.  
Noch hatte ich eine schwartze reiskist; Span. rohr.  
Ein beltzern kistgen.  
Ein bleyern Schreibzeug. Ein Schwam. Ein Kehrbürst.  
ledern federrohr. ledernen garn Tos. 2 Riech-büxgen.

(To be continued.)

ALEXANDER REINAGLE, AND HIS CONNECTION  
WITH THE MUSICAL LIFE OF PHILADELPHIA.

By

R. R. DRUMMOND,  
University of Pennsylvania.  
(May 25, 1907.)

The different aspects of civilization and culture of the eighteenth century in America have been studied minutely with a few exceptions. One of these exceptions is music. It has been stated by certain writers that, during the eighteenth century, there was no music of importance, that the colonists were not musical, and that the little music there was consisted of hymns and anthems sung in the church service. This theory is untenable, and shows that writers who advance such views are not at all conversant with the true conditions of early music in America.<sup>1</sup>

Long before Alexander Reinagle came to this country (1786), Philadelphia had felt the influence of Händel and the London musical world. As early as 1730 an advertisement appeared stating that Thomas Ball's sister taught "Singing, Playing on the Spinnet, Dancing," etc.<sup>2</sup> Her teaching must have been successful, since in 1739 B. Franklin advertised such standard musical works as "Corelli's Sonatas, Geminiani's Concertos, Ditto's Solos."<sup>3</sup> The next year, 1740 there were concerts given which were apparently of a private nature. The concerts must have been tolerably well supported, since they

---

<sup>1</sup> Cf. on the other hand the various books of O. G. Sonneck (quoted later) for a true statement concerning early musical life in America.

<sup>2</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Mar. 5-13, 1729-30.

<sup>3</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 15-22, 1738-9.

were given throughout the whole year, and not merely confined to the winter season.<sup>4</sup> Concerts similar to these are mentioned in 1744 by William Black,<sup>5</sup> and also by Gottlieb Mittelberger (1750-4<sup>6</sup>; but it was not until 1757 that the first public concerts are recorded.<sup>7</sup> There is a record, too, of a band in 1755.<sup>8</sup> Even from the few data here given, it will be seen that concert life in Philadelphia began at an early date, and that the cultivation of music was quite important.

The character of the music played at this time will show that the musical taste was not that of a rude, uncultivated people, but rather that of a people of the highest civilization and culture. In 1744, Händel, who was all-powerful in London, was not unknown to Philadelphians. In that year a musical clock was introduced, which among other pieces played "Sonatas, Concertos, Marches, Minuetts, Jiggs and Scots Airs, composed by Corelli, Alberoni, Mr. Händel and other eminent Masters of Musick,"<sup>9</sup> In 1749 came to Philadelphia John Beals,<sup>10</sup> 1757 John Palmer,<sup>11</sup> and 1763 James Bremner,<sup>12</sup>—all music teachers—and it is safe to say that all these men reflected the taste for Händel then prevalent in London. There is further evidence of the musical taste in Philadelphia in a monograph by O. G. Sonneck on "Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon." At the age

<sup>4</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 1-8, 1740.

<sup>5</sup> Wm. Black, *Diary*, June 5, 1744. [*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. I, page 46.]

<sup>6</sup> Gottlieb Mittelberger's *Journey to Pennsylvania, 1750-4*. Translated by C. T. Eben (1898), p. 114ff.

<sup>7</sup> O. G. Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson and Jas. Lyon*, p. 22. [Washington, D. C., 1905.]

<sup>8</sup> Daniel Fisher's *Diary Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. XVII. page 273.]

<sup>9</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 12, 1744.

<sup>10</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 21, 1749.

<sup>11</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 20, 1757.

<sup>12</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 1, 1763.

of eighteen (1755) Hopkinson was acquainted with "Italian, French and English trios" [as well as] "an 'Air in Atlanta,' by Händel, and a famous 'Water Piece,' by this author."<sup>13</sup> A manuscript book of Hopkinson's (1759) represents "Händel with ten pieces ("Samson" evidently being Hopkinson's favorite oratorio, by the master), "Signr. Palma," and "Signr. Vinci," both with four; Arne with two; Pepush (Alexis a Cantata), Dr. Boyce, Pergolesi, and Purcell with one piece." A third manuscript volume called "Lessons," date not given, contains, among others, compositions by "Händel (who predominates), Scarlatti, Abel, Stamitz, Vivaldi, Galuppi, Pugnani, Stanley, Smith [Schmidt], Pasquali, Giardine, Corelli, Geminiani, Lord Kelly."

From these manuscripts it is evident that Hopkinson was familiar with many of the best composers of the world. He was evidently especially fond of Italian and English music, but it is certain that Händel was the favorite. In the list directly above the following Germans are mentioned: Händel, Abel, Stamitz, Schmidt; also the English composer Stanley who was a particular friend of Händel, and his music, like all good music of England at that time, must have been modeled after that of Händel; then there was Lord Kelly who studied music in Germany. It is probable that Hopkinson made the acquaintance of these composers through the London music masters who had settled in Philadelphia, and, if that is so, it naturally follows that other pupils obtained some knowledge of the great masters.

It is not the purpose of this article to trace the development of music in Philadelphia; but at some future time articles will be presented showing to what extent German church music was present in Philadelphia during the eighteenth century,<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. for this and following, Sonneck, *Francis Hopkinson, &c.*, pp. 32, 34.

<sup>14</sup> Further information will be found in Dubbs, H., *German Hymnology of Pennsylvania* (1882). Also Hausmann, *German-American Hymnology, 1683-1800* [in *Americana Germanica*, 1898, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 11, ff].

and how important were the German organ-builders John G. Klemm, David Tannenberg, and Philip Feyring—all of Philadelphia.

It has been shown that there was secular music in Philadelphia at an early date. That music did not die out, but continued in favor with the people, while musical taste constantly progressed, and even during the impoverished times of the Revolutionary War concerts were given. The last fifteen years of the eighteenth century was the "Blütezeit" of music in Philadelphia, and its richness in musical ability is seen in no other city at that time.<sup>15</sup> During this last period Philadelphia had a number of important musicians and composers, among whom were Benjamin Carr, George Schetky, Raynor Taylor, Alexander Reinagle, Philip Phile and Philip Roth.<sup>16</sup>

Of these composers Alexander Reinagle, if not most important, stands at least in the front rank. He was born in 1756 at Portsmouth, England, of Austrian parents.<sup>17</sup> He seems to have inherited, as did his brothers Joseph and Hugh, a love of music from his father, who was a skillful musician. Alexander studied music in Scotland with Raynor Taylor, who later became one of the leading musicians in Philadelphia. The material concerning Reinagle before his arrival in America is scanty, but the few data there are show that he was known to the musical world of that time. In a memorandum book<sup>18</sup> of his, preserved in the Library of Congress, is an account of a trip which he took to Lisbon 1784-5 in company with his brother

---

<sup>15</sup> For information concerning programs in different cities consult Sonneck, *Early Concert Life in America* [1907, Breitkopf and Härtel, N. Y.].

<sup>16</sup> Short biographies in Sonneck's *Early Secular American Music* (1905) also his articles in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik Gesellschaft*, 1901, 1906.

<sup>17</sup> Sonneck, *Quarterly Magazine of International Music Society*, October-December, 1906, p. 112.

<sup>18</sup> O. G. Sonneck first called attention to this book in his article in the *Quarterly Magazine of International Music Society* quoted above p. 113.



Hugh, an eminent 'cellist,<sup>19</sup> who was sick with consumption. They arrived in Lisbon the twenty-third of October, and Reinagle tells of their lodgings there, expenses, etc. Of special interest is an item for January, 1785:

"Had a Concert in the Assembly Room 8th Jany.—Performed to the Queen and R. family Sunday 16th July. Rec'd. a present from her Majesty of 50 Moids."

After burying his brother Hugh, who died the nineteenth of March, 1785, he "embarked from Lisbon Sat. 23d April sail'd 24th & arrived in Portsmouth Tuesday 17th May. Made in Lisbon:

By Concert .....	£100—..—..
By Queen .....	67—..—..
Two P. Fortes .....	30—..—..
Four Ditto (?) .....	35—..—..
Teaching .....	3—12—..
Fund (?) .....	31—10—..
	— — —
	267 2 ..
Expences At Murrays .....	£7—..—..
Medicines .....	23—
Diet from 15 Mar. to 23d April at Mrs. Morleys .....	51
In all Diet .....	£58
Medicines .....	23
	—
	81

From these statements it would appear that his trip financially was a decided success. It would seem from the large sums of money obtained from his performances at Lisbon, that he must have been well known as a prominent musician. There

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Articles on Hugh Reinagle, in *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, and in "*Dictionary of National Biography*".

is further evidence of his standing in the musical world disclosed by O. G. Sonneck in an article in the *Quarterly Magazine of the International Music Society*,<sup>20</sup> entitled "Zwei Briefe C. Ph. Em. Bachs an Alex. Reinagle." They were evidently good friends, as Bach writes:

"Quand Vous m'crivez une autre fois, ne manquez pas de me marquer votre sort, auquel je m'interesse beaucoup. En meme temps je vous prie de me faire avoir votre portrait et celui de Mr. vôtre frere [Hugh], seulement en dessin pour les placer dans mon cabinet de portraits des musiciens. Cela me servira d'aide dans le souvenir de votre amitié."

This letter is dated Hamburg, Feb. 25, 1785.

The other letter is without date, but Sonneck conjectures that it was written the last of 1785 or the beginning of 1786. It begins as follows:

"Liebwehrtester Freund,

Ich bedaure von Herzen den Verlust Ihres lieben und braven Herrn Bruders eben so sehr, als ich mich über Ihre gute Aufnahme in Lissabon und glückliche Wiederkunft in London gefreut habe."

The remainder of the letter has to do with a business proposition which Reinagle had made to Bach for publishing some of the compositions of the latter in England. This project apparently was not carried out.

These extracts merely show that Reinagle before coming to this country was a capable musician, was known as such by prominent musicians in Europe, and probably through his intimacy with Bach would have studied quite extensively the composition of German musicians.

It was in the year 1786 that Reinagle arrived in New York with the intention of settling. He inserted the following advertisement in the *New York Independent Journal*:

<sup>20</sup> In this article these letters are given in full. The originals are deposited in the Library of Congress.

"Mr. Reinagle, member of the Society of Musicians in London, gives lessons on the pianoforte, harpsichord and violin."<sup>21</sup>

Evidently he did not prosper according to his expectations in New York, since the same year he established himself in Philadelphia. He at once became identified with the musical life of this city, and in conjunction with H. Capron, W. Brown and A. Juhan, Reinagle continued the "City Concerts" instituted in 1783.<sup>22</sup> The first programme played in that year will give some idea of the taste of the people of that epoch.

FIRST CONCERT, OCT. 19, 1786.

ACT I.

Favorite Symphonie ..... Vanhall.  
 Song, Mr. Capron ..... Gretrey.  
 Sonata, Piano Forte ..... Haydn and Reinagle.

ACT II.

Concerto Flute ..... Windling.  
 A Favorite Ronde.  
 Solo Violoncello ..... Tilliere.

ACT III.

Concerto Violin ..... Cramer.  
 New Symphony ..... Haydon<sup>23</sup>  
 Miscellaneous Concerto.

It will be seen by this programme that German music had its share of importance, and in later concerts the compositions of Mozart, Haydn, Händel, Bach, Pleyel, Abel, Stamitz, Schmittbauer, Heimberger, etc., were given. Undoubtedly the high grade of these concerts and the predominance of the works of German composers, was due to the musical taste of Reinagle.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted from *History of the Pianoforte in America*, by Daniel Spillane.

<sup>22</sup> Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, p. 78.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted from ditto, p. 81.

Concerning the residence of this German American composer in Philadelphia, his contemporaries have something to say. At that time Wignell was an important factor in the theatrical world and in the fall of 1791 he "associated himself with Mr. Reinagle, a professor of music in Philadelphia, and a composer of some note of that time."<sup>24</sup> They founded the first Chestnut Street Theatre, "the corner stone of which was laid by Mr. Reinagle, a Master Mason, in Masonic form."<sup>25</sup>

The new theatre was opened to the public for the first time on Saturday evening, April 2d, 1793, "with a grand concert of vocal and instrumental music."<sup>26</sup>

"The orchestra department was under the direction of Manager Reinagle, and the musicians were deemed equal in ability with the stage artists. In truth the orchestra contained about twenty accomplished musicians, many of them of great notoriety as concerto players on their respective instruments.

"The concentration of that early date of so much dramatic, operatic and instrumental talent, introduced a new era of theatricals here.

"Who that once saw old manager Reinagle in his official capacity, could ever forget his dignified personne. He presided at his piano forte, looking the very personification of the patriarch of music—investing the science of harmonious sounds, as well as the dramatic school, with a moral influence, reflecting and adorning its salutary uses with high respectability and polished manners. His appearance was of the reverent and impressive kind, which at once inspired the universal respect of the audience. Such was Reinagle's imposing appearance, that it awed the disorderly of the galleries, or the fop of annoying propensities, and impertinent criticism of the box lobby into decorum.

---

<sup>24</sup> Durang, *History of the Stage in Philadelphia*, chapter 15.

<sup>25</sup> Durang, *History of the Stage in Philadelphia*, chapter 19.

<sup>26</sup> Durang, *History of Stage in Philadelphia*, chapter 19.

"It was inspiring to behold the polished Reinagle saluting from his seat (before the grand square piano forte in the orchestra) the highest respectability of the city, as it entered the boxes to take seats. It was a scene before the curtain that suggested a picture of the master of private ceremonies receiving his invited guests at the fashionable drawing room.

"Mr. Reinagle was a gentleman and a musician. His compositions evinced decided cleverness and originality, and some of his accompaniments to the old opera music were much admired by good judges."<sup>27</sup>

An article by William McKoy presents a clearer picture of Mr. Reinagle. He says:

"Mr. Reinagle, one of the Managers, and a Professor of Music, used to be seen, but only on particular occasions, seated at the Piano Forte, then standing against the stage, in the rear of the band [orchestra] for the mere purpose of touching a few notes solo, by way of accompaniment to the silvery tones of Mrs. Wignell. \* \* \* Mr. Reinagle, while thus enjoying the effect of her inimitable chant, exhibited to the audience a head not unlike that of Louis the XIV but divested of the simplicity, bushy, powdered hair, large high forehead, and round full face, illuminated by silver mounted spectacle glasses, a perceptible smirk at all times about the mouth, and an extraordinary depth of dimple in his cheek, while sitting there and surveying the irritability of Mr. Gillingham, the Leader of the Band, on his being obliged to leave the music of Händel and Mozart, and strike off into the 'President's March.'"<sup>28</sup>

In Durang's account, the compositions of Reinagle are spoken of highly; there is the testimony of another man, an actor in Reinagle's company, to substantiate the above eulogy, as follows (1804):

"By the death of Wignell \* \* \* the management de-

<sup>27</sup> Durang, chapter 19.

<sup>28</sup> Poulson's *Daily Advertiser*, January 13, 1809.

volved upon his widow and Reinagle. \* \* \* The musical department fell of course to the charge of Reinagle, whose compositions and adaptations were deserved favorites with the public."<sup>29</sup>

Again, there is the testimony of a man of our own times to show that the above praise was not undeserved. Speaking of some of Reinagle's sonatas, O. G. Sonneck says:

"These sonatas follow closely in the footsteps of Ph. Em. Bach and the early Haydn without being void of individuality. If the larger works of Reinagle all were as fine and effective as these sonatas he must have been a composer of merit."<sup>30</sup>

Sonneck has published titles of forty-two works ascribed to Reinagle,<sup>31</sup> some of which are still in existence. These compositions include sonatas, overtures, preludes, songs opera music, adaptations, accompaniments, etc.

From all this evidence it will appear that Alexander Reinagle must have been a great force in music in Philadelphia, and did much to shape the taste of the people for good music—especially for German music, and may thus be called the greatest German American musician of that century.

Concerning his home life, it is known that Reinagle was married and had two sons, Hugh, a scenic painter of some note, and Thomas. The later years of his life, Reinagle spent in the management of a theatre in Baltimore, where he died September 21, 1809.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Wood, *Personal Recollections of the Stage*, p. 104.

<sup>30</sup> Sonneck, *Early Secular American Music*, p. 139.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Sonneck, *Early Secular American Music*, p. 139.

<sup>32</sup> Durang, chapters 19 and 24.

## APPENDIX.

## WORKS OF ALEXANDER REINAGLE.

1787.

1. Overture.
2. "A Select Collection of the most favorite Scots tunes. With variations for the pianoforte or harpsichord."
3. A song (newly composed).

1788.

4. "*Federal March*, as performed in the grand procession in Philadelphia, the 4th of July, 1788. Composed and adapted for the pianoforte, violin, or German flute."

1789.

5. Song.  
"Adieu thou dreary pile."  
Arranged for pianoforte or harpsichord by Reinagle.
6. *Chorus*, sung before Gen. Washington, as he passed under the triumphal arch on Trenton Bridge, April 21, 1789. "Set to music and dedicated by permission to Mrs. Washington."
7. *Song*. "In vain fond youth you would conceal."
8. *Song*. "My soul is thine, sweet Nora."
9. *Song*. "The Soldier tried, etc."
10. *Song*. "Tantive back forward."
11. *Song*. "'Tis not the bloom on Damon's cheek."  
(These songs were *arranged* by R. for pianoforte or harpsichord.)
12. Overture. "La Schiava" (Piccini).
13. Overture to opera "Maria" (Shield).  
(These overtures arranged for pf. by R.)

1791.

14. Song. "Winter." Set by R. with pf. acc.

1793.

15. Miscellaneous quartet. Nov. 16, 1793.

## 1794.

16. Song. "America, Commerce and Freedom." By R.
17. "La Chasse" (Rosetti). Arranged for pianoforte or Harpsichord by R.
18. "Concerto On the Improved Pianoforte with Additional keys.
19. "La Foret Noire (serious pantomime. *Overture*, etc., entirely new, composed by Mr. Reinagle."
20. Occasional Overture.
21. "Preludes in three classes, for the improvement of practitioners on the pianoforte."
22. "Robin Hood" (comic opera), original overture by Baumgarten, additional airs by R.
23. "Slaves in Algiers" (play interspersed with songs), Music by R.
24. "Spanish Barber" (opera translated from Beaumarchais, by G. Colemann), additional airs by Reinagle and Carr.

## 1795.

25. "Harlequin shipwreck'd" (Pantomime). New music by R.
26. "Harlequins invasion" (Pantomime). New medley overture by R.
27. "Volunteers" (comic opera). Music and overture entirely new.
28. "The Purse" (musical drama by J. J. Cross), accompaniments and new airs by R.
29. "Auld Robin Gray" (opera), new music and a Scottish medley overture by R.

## 1796.

30. "Mountaineers" (comic opera), accompaniments by R.
31. "Pierre de Province and La Belle Magulone" [?], new music by R.



32. "The Shamrock" (Irish dance), Irish medley overture by R.

33. "Witches of the rocks or Harlequin everywhere" (Pantomime), "with an entire new overture, songs, choruses, and recitations composed by Mr. Reinagle."

1797.

34. "Columbus" (historical play), incidental music by R.

35. Savoyard (musical farce), music by R.

1798.

36. "Italian monk" (opera), music and accompaniment by R.

1799.

37. "Blue beard" (opera), accompaniments by Reinagle.

Probably before 1800 (no date).

38. "Collection of favorite songs, divided into two books. The basses rendered easy and natural for the pianforte or harpsichord by Alex. Reinagle."

1800.

39. Masonic overture.

40. "Naval pillar" (musical entertainment), accompaniments by R.

41. "Pizarro," by Kotzebue; adapted by R. B. Sheridan; music by Reinagle and Raynor Taylor.<sup>88</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> Sonneck, *Early Secular American Music*, for these dates.

PROVINCIALISMS OF SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

PROFESSOR HEYDRICK  
Millersville Normal School.

*A List of Dialect Expressions, chiefly of Pennsylvania-German origin, found in Lancaster and adjoining counties.*

The following list attempts to record the commoner dialectal expressions used in the counties of Lancaster, York, Lebanon, Chester, Berks and Dauphin, in Pennsylvania; with occasional references to other localities. These expressions have been gathered from students coming from these counties, and have been verified by subsequent inquiries. The basis of selection was the Century dictionary. All words not given in the Century, and all words given there as local, obsolete, United States, etc., have been included. The list may be classified as follows:

1. Words marked U. S., local, etc. ....	31
2. Words marked obsolete .....	9
3. New words, as Belsnickel .....	31
4. New compounds, as blow-horn .....	11
5. New formations on basis of old words, as catty.....	5
6. New modifications of old words, as orless .....	6
7. New abbreviations .....	1
8. Words used in new functions, as hub, v. ....	10
9. Words differing from standard inflectional forms ..	4
10. Expressions differing from standard forms of syntax, as "walk the road up" .....	7
11. Words in new idioms .....	53
12. Words in new meanings .....	30

---

198

(307)

The above classification follows closely that suggested by the American Dialect Society. A classification according to source shows that 118 of these expressions, or more than half, are traceable directly to the influence of the Pennsylvania German dialect. This is due to the nature of the population in these countries. The country was settled by Germans, who came from the Rhenish Palatinate in great numbers in the first half of the eighteenth century. These people spoke German, a South German dialect, much like that spoken, in different varieties, to-day in the Rheinpfalz and Westrich. This dialect, slightly modified, and with a few English words added, is the vernacular of the of the common people in the counties to-day. There are thousands of homes where not a word of English is spoken, and in the town and cities on market-days one hears the dialect everywhere. It is commonly called Pennsylvania Dutch, but the name is misleading. It is not Dutch at all, nor is it a mongrel dialect of Germanized English like the Breitmann Ballads, but, as Professor Haldeman has characterized it, "South German dialect with an infusion of English."\* or more exactly as Learned shows the dialect of the Rhenish palatinate.\*\* In vocabulary and inflection it differs somewhat from High German; in idiom it is almost identical.

The original vocabulary of Pennsylvania German was not large, and to supply its deficiencies English words were introduced. As the country became more thickly settled, many English-speaking people came into these localities, and by association with them the Germans learned other English words, which were used sometimes in a pure form, as balloon, sometimes altered to conform to German structure, as *ge-satisfied*, *ge-sentenced*.

In these counties, then, as Mr. A. J. Ellis has pointed out in

---

\* *Pennsylvania Dutch.*

\*\* *The Pennsylvania German Dialect.*

his introduction to Haldemann's *Pennsylvania Dutch*, we have a situation like that in England in Chaucer's time; two languages are spoken side by side, and each influences the other. For not only did the Pennsylvania Germans borrow English words, but when they spoke English they held to Pennsylvania German idioms, to some Pennsylvania German words, and the English-speaking people of the neighborhood insensibly fell into some of these locutions, so that to-day in these counties you find people of Scotch, Irish and English descent using many of the forms given here, and quite unconscious that they are not speaking the purest English. A paper sack called a *tut*, dried apples are *snits*, fat pork is *speck*, and these are the terms in general use. The extent to which the English of these localities has been influenced by Pennsylvania German has never, I think, been thoroughly investigated. Professor Haldemann (*Pennsylvania Dutch*, ch. IX) gives a list of such words, but he has only 24, and includes some words, such as *chipmunk* and *sandman*, not of Pennsylvania German origin, and others, such as *tsitterly* and *fackle*, which are not generally used by English-speaking people. Mr. Grumbine\* gives a list of expressions, almost all of which are evidently of Pennsylvania German origin, though *spook* and *coal-oil* may be doubted. His list numbers 26 words. In the list accompanying this there are 118 words or idioms derived from Pennsylvania German, and probably others could be added.

In this list the following facts are stated: meaning of word; use in a sentence; counties of Pennsylvania where found; derivation, if known, and occurrence or non-occurrence in the Century dictionary. The abbreviations of names of counties are as follows;

---

\*Trans. Am. Philol. Ass. XVII. app. xiii.

Ad.,	Adams.	Lack.,	Lackawanna.
Bed.,	Bedford.	Lan.,	Lancaster.
Camb.,	Cambria.	Leb.,	Lebanon.
Cent.,	Centre.	Leh.,	Lehigh.
Ches.,	Chester.	Luz.,	Luzerne.
Cum.,	Cumberland.	Mer.,	Mercer.
Dau.,	Dauphin.	Mif.,	Mifflin.
Del.,	Delaware.	Per.,	Perry.
Fran.,	Franklin.	Sch.,	Schuylkill.
Jun.,	Juniata.	Y.,	York.

In giving the derivation, where the word or idiom is common to both Pennsylvania German and High German I have given both forms, though there is no doubt but that the expression comes in through the Pennsylvania German. In giving Pennsylvania German words I have followed the orthography of Horne's Manual. The books referred to are as follows:

C.—Century Dictionary.

Grumbine—Article by L. L. Grumbine in *Trans. Am. Philol. Ass.* XVII, Appendix, XIII.

Haldemann—*Pennsylvania Dutch.* S. S. Haldemann. Phila. 1872.

Hoover—*Enemies in the Rear.* Francis T. Hoover, Boston, 1895.

Horne—*Pennsylvania German Manual.* A. R. Horne. Allentown, Pa., 1896.

Learned—the *Pennsylvania German Dialect*, Part I. Marion Dexter Learned. Baltimore, 1889.

S.—Standard Dictionary.

W.—Webster's International Dictionary.

AFTER.

Afternoon (slang).

"I'll see him this *after*."

fr. Lan., Lack., Leb., Philada., Bucks, Sch., Chester, Ad., Cent.

ALL. All gone; exhausted.

"The butter is *all*; you must order some."

Lan., Leb., Y., Dau., Sch., Berks, Per., Ad.

Cr. Pa. Ger. *öl*; Ger. *all* (adv.), so used.

The expression *half-all*, i. e., half gone, is also used.

C.-O.

Lan., Y., Dau., Berks, Leb., Sch., Camb.

ALL BOTH. Both.

"They *all both* went walking."

Cr. Pa. Ger. *öl bäd*; Ger. *alle beide*.

"They *all both* was lately, but they're two miles away now."—

Hoover, p. 261.

C.-O.

ALREADY. Expletive, used with past tense.

"I came this morning *already*."

Lan., Y., Dau., Per., Mif., Ches., Sch., Bucks.

Cr. Pa. G. shun, Ger. schon.

"A sort of auxiliary [adverb] supposed to be necessary to complete the idea of the past tense."—Grumbine.

C.-O.

ALLOW. Intend.

"I *allow* to sow my wheat to-morrow."

Ad., Ches., Mif., Lan., Y., Blair, Cent., Bucks.

C.—Coll. U. S.

ANY MORE. Intensive.

"I can't find my hat *any more*."

Lan., Y., Dau., Leb., Berks.

Cr. Pa. Ger. *nimä*; Ger. *nimmermehr*.

C.-O.

ASHAMED. Bashful, timid (without any consciousness of guilt).

"Don't notice the child; he's ashamed."

Lan., Leb., Y., Dau., Ad., Berks.

Possibly Fr. Ger. *Scham*, one meaning of which is modesty, bashfulness.

[This is not due to German influence, but is provincial English usage, in Delaware, for example.—THE EDITOR.]

C.-O.

W.-O.

Ss.—Abashed, disconcerted.

At.

To, with verbs of motion.

"He went *at* the barn."

Ad., Leb., Y.

In Pa. Ger. *an* would be used. In some cases *an* is correctly translated by *at*; so *at* comes to be used generally where *an* would be used in Pa. Ger.

C.-O.

At.

On, upon.

"Did you put salt *at* the potatoes?"

Lan., Cum., Dau., Ad.

Cr. Ger. *An* is used for *on* and *at*.

C.-O.

AWHILE.

Expletive, *now*; often of no special force."Eat your supper *awhile*" equals "Eat your supper."

Lan., Leb., Y., Ad.

(Cf. already.)

Cr. Pa. Ger. *weil*; Ger. *eine weile*.

Sometimes this is used to imply expectation of something to follow, as in the example above it might mean before the others.

C.-O.

BAG, *v.*

Play truant.

"I *bagged* my geometry yesterday."

Lan., Y., Bucks, Leb., Montg., Sch.

It is also used as a noun in the phrase "play bags," i. e., play truant.

C.-O.

BARRACK.

Hay-shed.

Ad., Lan. and Loudon Co., Va.

C.—Used in Md.

BARRICK.

Hill.

"There's a *barrick* across the creek."

Lan., Leb., Leh., Y.

Cr. Pa. Ger. *bärg*; Ger. *berg*. [Brück?]

C.—Bergh, bargh; prov. Eng.

BEAL, *v.* (BEEL).

Fester.

"I ran a splinter into my finger and it *bealed*."

Lan., Leb., Camb., Sch., Mif., Y., Ad.

(Used also in Canada.)

C.—Obsolete except in Scotland.

W.—Prov. Eng.

S.—Dial. or obs.

BELSNICKEL.

1. Santa Claus. 2. Mummers who come on Christmas Eve.

Lan., Y., Bucks, Cent., Ad., Leb., Leh., Sch.

fr. Pa. Ger. *belsnik'l*; Ger. *Pelznickel* or *Pelzmädel*. (Coll.)

This word is used in both senses often in the same locality. It is not exactly equivalent to Santa Claus, as the Belsnickel carries a whip to punish bad children, as well as nuts and candy for the good ones. In some localities the Belsnickel still comes on Christmas Eve, to the terror and delight of the children.

C.-O.

BETTER WOULD.

Had better.

"You *better would* take an umbrella."

Lan., Leb., Y., Cum., Dau., Bucks.

Cr. Pa. Ger. *bës'r dash't* [equals H. G. *lättest*].

C.-O.

BLOW-HORN.

Tin horn; a dinner horn.

"Do you folks use a bell or a *blow-horn*?"

Lan., Ad., Leb., Sch. [cf., He's a blow-horn].

fr. Pa. Ger. *blosä-horn*.

C.-O.

(To be continued.)



BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMAN AMERICANA FOR  
THE YEAR 1906.

WILLIAM GODFREY BEK.

*The Pennsylvania German.* January, 1906. Professor Israel Daniel Rupp. P. C. Croll. — The Perkiomen Region and its People. A Descriptive and Historical Survey. H. A. Schuler. — The River Brethren. An Historical Sketch. John K. Miller. — Zion, the "Old Red Church" in West Brunswick Township, Schuylkill Co., Pa. H. A. Weller. — The Spelling of our Dialect. H. A. Schuler.

January and March. The Gnadenhütten Massacres.

March, 1906. William Pepper, M. D., LL. D. P. C. Croll. — A Garrison-Town in Pennsylvania Fifty Years Ago. Theodore M. Riley. — The Pennsylvania-German in Fiction. Ellwood Roberts. — Tombstone Inscriptions from the Graveyard of "Little Tulpehocken Church." M. A. Gruber.

May, 1906. Rachel Bahn, the York County Poetess. J. H. Betz. — The Pennsylvania-German Society—Its Origin. Its Mission. Its Growth. H. M. M. Richards. — The First Printed Pennsylvania-German Poem. H. A. Schuler. — Hansjörg Kistler and His Descendants. Chas. E. Kistler.

May, September, October and November, 1906. The Wild Rose of Bethlehem.

July, 1906. The Pennsylvania-German as Pionier and Homebuilder. F. J. F. Schantz. — The Pennsylvania-German as Farmer. Geo. F. Mays. — The Pennsylvania-German as Manufacturer and Merchant. L. R. Harley. — The Pennsylvania-German as Scientist. D. H. Bergey. — The Pennsylvania-German as Artist. John W. Jordan. — The Pennsylvania-German as Patriot and Soldier. J. G. Rosengarten. — The Pennsylvania-German in Law. — The Pennsylvania-German as States-

(314)

man and Legislator. Geo. M. Jones. — The Pennsylvania-German as Governor. V. S. Koons. — The Pennsylvania-German as Printer and Publisher. — Early German Musical Publications in Pennsylvania. A. Stapleton. — The Pennsylvania-German in Literature. Reginald W. Kaufmann. — Education Among the Pennsylvania-Germans. H. A. Schuler. — The Pennsylvania-German as Churchman. Lucy Forney Bittinger. — German Church-Life in Pennsylvania. J. H. Dubbs. — The Pennsylvania-German as Champion of Religious Liberty. H. W. Kriebel. — Characteristics of the Pennsylvania-German. Sidney Geo. Fischer. — Some Pennsylvania-German Statistics. H. A. Schuler. — Where the Pennsylvania-German Has Been First. — The Pennsylvania Chautauqua. P. C. Croll. — The Pennsylvania-German as Citizen. Thomas C. Zimmermann.

September, 1906. — Rev. John William Weber: Pioneer Reformed Preacher of Western Pennsylvania. D. L. Fouse. — Weather Prognostications and Superstitions Among the Pennsylvania-Germans. John Baer Stoudt. — Our Pennsylvania Wives and Sweethearts. Geo. T. Ettinger.

October, 1906. Pennsylvania Genealogies. By many authors. — A Genealogical Trip to Switzerland. Oscar Kuhns. — German-American Genealogies, Chiefly Pennsylvanian, Found in the New York Public Library. Richard E. Helbig.

November, 1906. How "Harra Chake" Cut the Gordian Knot. A Story of Life in a Pennsylvania-German Community. W. H. Richardson. — An Oft Told Tale of the Revolution. L. S. Shimmell. — Barbara Fritchie at Home. J. H. Apple. — Kinderlieder aus dem Elsasstal. John Baer Stoudt. — Pennsylvania-German Genealogies. By many authors. — The York Riflemen. I. H. Betz.

December, 1906. George Schaeffer, the Pioneer. D. N. Schaeffer. — Early History of the Reformed Church in Reading. Daniel Miller. — An Important Historical Error Corrected. A. Stapleton. — Christopher Wieger, the Towamancian Diarist. H. W. Kriebel. — The Old-time Pennsylvania-German Christmas. H. A. Schuler. — Are the Pennsylvania Germans a "Peculiar People"? Geo. W. Sandt. — A Pennsylvania German

- Anthology. R. K. Buehrle. — Historic Buildings of the Lehigh Valley. Chas. E. Roberts.
- The Princeton Theological Review.* July and October, 1906. Schwenckfeld's Participation in the Eucharistic Controversy of the Sixteenth Century. Fr. W. Loetscher.
- The Reformed Church Review.* March 22, 1906. Benjamin Franklin and the Germans. Wm. J. Hinke.  
 October, 1906. Christian Unity in the Reformed Church: An Historical Review. Conrad Clever.  
 October 18, 1906. The Union of the Reformed Church in the United States and the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. G. W. Richards.  
 October 25, 1906. Some Thoughts on Education in the Reformed Church. W. Rush Gillan.
- The Reformed Witness.* Vol. II, No. 3. The College of German Tradition and Modern German Culture. M. D. Learned.
- The Sewanee Review.* October, 1906. Some Odes and Didactic Verses of Goethe in English. Wm. H. Guthrie.
- The South Atlantic Quarterly.* Vol. V. No. 2. Some German Criticisms of America. Wm. H. Wannamaker.
- The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography.* October, 1906. The Germans in Madison County, Virginia. Wm. J. Hinke.
- Ungdomsvännan.* January, 1906. (Articles began in 1904, continued to close of 1906.) Svensk-Amerikanska Författare.  
 January, 1906. Amerikanska Folklifsbilder fran gatan. (Continued throughout the year.) — Gustaf IV Adolf i Heidelberg. Amandus Johnson.  
 February, 1906. En nyuppstäckt svensk författare och ett enastaende verk.  
 April, 1906. Svensk-Amerikanska Konstnärer. (Throughout the year.)  
 May, 1906. Karl Joseph Alfred Hedenstjärna.  
 August, 1906. Svensk-Amerikanernas Dag i Norrköping.
- Valkyrian* (New York). March to July, 1906. John Adolph Dahlgren. J. Emil Blomén.  
 May, 1906. Augustana-synodens kultur- och välgörenhets arbete. Wilh. Berger. — Svenska nationalkören.

August, 1906. En Svensk Konstnär. Edward Sundell.  
August and September, 1906. Ulric Dahlgren. J. Emil Blomén.

September, 1906. Kolonien "Nya Sverige." Ett tvahundra-femtioarsminne. G. Rosenberg.

September to December, 1906. Ungdomskärlek. Svensk-Amerikansk Novell. Felix Vivo.

November, 1906. Emigrantens farväl. Ludvig Holmes.

December, 1906. Kogl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens högtidsdag 1893 och havd med anledning deraf passerade. Cl. Adelsköld. — En julafton pa Bremer Street. Signe Ankarfelt. — En svensk-amerikan. Ludvig Holmes. — En äkta svensk-amerikanska. Ernst Skarstedt.

*Westermann's Monatshefte.* July, 1906. Vom Deutschtum im Auslande. Wilhelm Dibelius.

*Zeitschrift des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins.* Vol. XXI. No. 4. Sinfonia domestica. Eine deutsch-amerikanische Bemerkung zur Musiksprache. Robert Köhler.

No. 11. Ueber den Bestand, die Pflege und die Aussicht der deutschen Sprache in Amerika. — Deutscher Unterricht in Amerika.

#### REVIEWS.

*Beilage der Allgemeinen Zeitung* (München). August 8, 1906. Paul Cohn's Das Bildungswesen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. By Alfred Hölder.

*Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter.* January, 1906. F. P. Kenkel's: Die Amerika.

January, 1906. F. P. Kenkel's: Die Amerika.

October, 1906. Richard Bockh's: Die Ermittlung des Volkthums der Einwanderer in die Vereinigten Staaten. — Mittheilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia.

*Deutsche Historische Gesellschaft für den District Columbia.* January, 1906. Zur Geschichte der St. Johannes-Kirche.

April, 1906. Aufgabe und Ziel der Deutschen Historischen Gesellschaft für den District Columbia. Gustav Bender.

April and July, 1906. Geschichte des „Washington Sängerbund.“ Chr. Starck.

July, 1906. John Lederer, der Entdecker der Virginia Valley. Chr. Starck.

*Deutsche Monatsschrift.* February, 1906. Ralph Waldo Trine — Amerikanischer Idealismus. Max Christlieb.

*Die Abendschule* (St. Louis). Vol. LII. No. 5. Deutschland ein schlechter Kolonisator.

No. 7. Bartholdts Friedensbemühungen.

No. 8. Kaiser Wilhelm und die Portsmouth Konferenz.

Nos. 10 and 20. Haager Friedenskonferenz.

No. 11. Deutschamerikanische Städte berühmt.

No. 13. Deutschtum wächst hier.

No. 14. Eingewanderte wandern zurück.

Nos. 15 and 21. Deutsch in Amerika.

No. 17. Burenkolonie in Mexiko geht ein.

No. 17. Deutschland Amerikas Freund.

No. 21. Roosevelt über Deutschland.

No. 22. Karl Schurz gestorben.

No. 24. Schurz' meisterhaftes Englisch.

*Deutsche Erde.* No. 1 of 1906. Julia W. Colton's Deutsche und Holländer unter den ersten Ansiedlern New Amsterdams. By Rudolf Blume. — Gord and Hinke's Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations of Pennsylvania, 1734-1792. — G. A. Neeff's Vom Lande des Sternbanners. — Oscar H. Kraft's Jahrbuch für die deutschen Vereine von Chicago. — W. H. Richardson's The Picturesque Quality of the Pennsylvania Germans. — Vom Douro und Rio Grande.

No. 10. 1905. Review of an article in "Das Deutschtum im Auslande." Winke für die Erhaltung und Pflege des deutschen Schulwesens in Südbrasilien. By Dr. Aldinger.

No. 2. 1906. Review of an article found in "Die deutschen Schulen im Auslande." Die Germaniaschule zu Buenos Aires. By C. Sennewald. — Karl Lares' Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten. By Rudolf Blume. — Clement L. Martzloff's Deutsche in Perry Co., Ohio. By Albert Beyer. — Ernst von

Halle's Mexico und Deutschland. By Alford Zimmermann. — Egas Moniz Barreto de Aragao's Ein Vorkämpfer deutscher Bildung (in Brasilien). By Victor Hantzsch. — Review of article found in "Erstes Jahrbuch für die deutsch-sprechende Kolonie im Staate S. P. Das Deutschtum in Sao Paulo. By Wilhelm Sievers. — Robert Gernhard's Deutschsprachliche Bauernsiedlungen in Brasilien. By Karl Bollen. — Klasing und Kull's Der deutsche Riograndenser Bauernverein. By Karl Bollen. — Ulrich Schmidel's Der Erste Deutsche in den La Plata-Ländern. Viktor Hantzsch. By R. v. Fischer-Treuenfeld. — Die (deutsche) Kolonie Hohenau in Paraguay. Wilhelm Götz.

No. 3. 1906. G. F. v. B[arsewich]: Die wirtschaftliche Lage der Deutschen in Rio Grande de Sul. By Karl Bollen.

No. 4. 1906. Felix Linke's Die überseeische Auswanderung und das Deutschtum im Ausland. By Alfred Zimmermann. — Eberhard Meinhold's Die deutsche Kolonie Sao Lourenco. By Karl Bollen. — Alfred Funcke's Der Kolonisor. Eine Gründungsgeschichte (Südamerika). By Karl Bollen. — Brief review of article in No. 6 of "Die deutsche Schule im Auslande."

Was wir wollten und was wir erreichten. (Süd-Amerika.)

— Gustav Lenze's Die Schule der deutschen Kolonie in Mexico. *Deutsche Monatsschrift*. Vol. VI. No. 1. Ein deutsches Liederbuch für amerikanische Studenten.

*Educational Review*. Vol. XXX. No. 3. Thilly & Elwang's translation of Paulsen's The German Universities and University Study.

*German American Annals*. Vol. IV. No. 3. Otto Heller's Studies in Modern German Literature. — E. Z. Davis' Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines. 1741-1810. — Falkner's Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania.

*Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*. Vol. III. No. 12. Daniel Miller's History of the Reformed Church in Reading, Pa.

*Modern Language Notes*. Vol. XXI. No. 4. August Höfer's Pädagogische Streifzüge durch die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. By George Henry Dalton.

- No. 6. E. Z. Davis' Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines. 1741 to 1810. By H. M. Belden.
- The South Atlantic Quarterly.* Vol. V. No. 4. Thilly and Elwang's translation of Paulsen's The German Universities and University Study.
- Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.* Vol. XIII. No. 10. Pallet's Schule und Kunst in Amerika.
- Zeitschrift des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins.* Vol. XXI. No. 11. Fernande Richter's Die deutsche Frau in Amerika.
- No. 3. O. Sperber's Das Verschwinden der deutschen Sprache in Nord-Amerika.
- No. 4. A. Pilger's Wie man in Amerika Deutsch spricht. — Announcements of maps published by Justus Perthes, Gotha. Karte der Verbreitung des Deutschtums in den östlichen Ver. Staaten. — Karte der Verbreitung des Deutschtums in Süd- und Mittelamerika. — Karte des Anteils der Deutschen an der Erforschung Südamerikas. — Karte der südlichen deutschen Kolonien in Rio Grande do Sul. — Karte der deutschen Kolonie S. Lourenco. — Karte der deutschen Kolonie am mittleren Taquary. — Karte der Verbreitung des Deutschtums in Nordamerika. (Pennsylvania, New York, St. Louis, Chicago.)

## FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS.

PROF. DR. OTTO BINDEWALD, University of Gjessen.  
PROF. DR. KARL BORINSKI, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ALOYS BRANDL, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. OTTO BREMER, University of Halle.  
PROF. DR. KARL BREUL, King's College, Cambridge, England.  
PROF. DR. KONRAD BURDACH, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. CREIZENACH, University of Krakau.  
PROF. DR. ERNST ELSTER, University of Marburg.  
DR. K. ENDEMANN, Weilberg a. L.  
PROF. DR. LUDWIG GEIGER, University of Berlin.  
DR. GRAEVELL, Brussels.  
PROF. DR. F. HOLTHAUSEN, University of Kiel.  
PROF. DR. M. H. JELLINEK, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. O. JIRICZEK, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. MAX KOCH, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. K. LANDMANN, Darmstadt.  
PROF. DR. PAUL LANGHANS, Gotha.  
PROF. DR. H. LAMBEL, University of Prague.  
PROF. DR. JOHN MEIER, University of Basel.  
PROF. DR. RUDOLPH MEISSNER, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. RICHARD M. MEYER, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. J. MINOR, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. E. MOGK, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. LORENZ MORSBACH, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. F. MUNCKER, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ANTON SCHOENBACH, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. BERNHARD SEUFFERT, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. ALEXANDER TILLE, University of Glasgow.  
PROF. DR. H. VARNHAGEN, University of Erlangen.  
PROF. DR. OSKAR WALZEL, University of Bern.  
PROF. DR. G. WITKOWSKI, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. WYCHGRAM, University of Leipzig.

(List may be extended.)

---

---

### Form von Vermächtnissen.

I give and bequeath to the "*German American Historical Society*", Central Office located at Philadelphia Pa., \_\_\_\_\_

---

(here describe the amount, if money or premises, if real estate)

to aid in carrying out the designs of the Society.



## THE NATIONAL GERMAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

*President*, DR. C. J. HEXAMER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*1st Vice-Pres.*, JOSEPH KELLER, Indianapolis, Ind.  
*2d Vice-Pres.*, NOAH GUTER, Newark, N. J.  
*Treas.*, H. WENIGER, Phila., Pa. *Fin. Sec.*, JOHN YENNY, East Pittsburg, Pa.  
*Sec.*, ADOLPH TIMM, 522 W. Lehigh Ave., Phila., Pa.

### *National Executive Committee:*

JOHN TJARKS, Balto., Md.; C. W. BENTE, Wheeling, W. Va.,  
KURT VOELCKNER, Washington, D. C.; F. OSKAR MARTIN, Idaho;  
H. I. NIENSTEDT, St. Paul, Minn.; GUSTAV C. MARTENS, Cleveland, O.;  
C. C. LIENAU, Newark, N. J.; DR. CARL BARCK, St. Louis, Mo.,  
DR. H. A. C. ANDERSON, N. Y. City; ALBERT CURRLIN, Oakland, Cal.;  
H. C. BLOEDEL, Allegheny, Pa.; CARL EBERHARD, Boston, Mass.

## THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(INCORPORATED 1901)

*Honorary President*, J. G. ROSENGARTEN, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*President*, DR. ALBERT BERNHEIM, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Vice-Presidents*: L. E. HENNIGHAUSEN, Baltimore, Md. H. M. VON STARK-  
LOFF, St. Louis, Mo. C. F. HUCH, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Editor*: MARION D. LEARNED, BOX 10, College Hall, University of Pennsyl-  
vania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Treasurer*: HANS WENIGER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Business Manager and Secretary*: CHARLES H. BREITBARTH, 5821 Chester Avenue,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Annual Dues, \$5.00.

## THE UNION OF OLD GERMAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

Headquarters, ARION HALLE, 99th St. and Park Ave., NEW YORK.

*President*, DR. CARL BECK, 37 E. 31st St., New York.

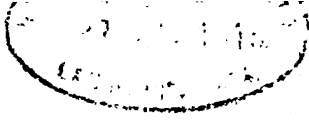
### *Vice-Presidents:*

DR. M. D. LEARNED, DR. HENRY G. KRAUSE,  
HON. CHAS. F. MCLEAN, DR. CARL BARCK,  
DR. W. FREUDENTHAL.  
*Rec. Secretary*, DR. J. HECKMANN. *Cor. Secretary*, DR. CARL PFISTER.  
*Treasurer*, DR. ALBERT J. W. KERN, Jamaica, N. Y.

### *Directors:*

DR. EM. BARUCH, W. HALLOCK,  
DR. CHAS. F. CHANDLER, DR. R. JOHNSTONE MOONEY,  
H. DROBEGG, DR. H. MUENSTERBERG,  
DR. C. W. ELIOT, W. SCHAUPFLER,  
D. C. GILMAN, DR. H. SCHOENFELD,  
WILLIAM R. HARPER, H. SCHUETER,  
FRIEDRICH HIRTH, DR. J. G. SCHURMAN,  
OSWALD JOERG, DR. L. L. SEAMAN,  
HENRY G. KRAUSE, ANDREW H. SMITH,  
L. HERZOG, ANDREW VON GRIMM,  
H. A. WEBER.

Annual Dues, \$3.00.



Index

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations  
OF  
Germany and America

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*  
*The National German American Alliance*  
*The Union of Old German Students in America*

### CONTENTS:

The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown	323
German Archives as Sources of German-American History	357
Provincialisms of Southeastern Pennsylvania	370
Reviews	382

NEW SERIES, Vol. 5, No. 6.                      OLD SERIES, Vol. 9, No. 6.  
NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1907.

Subscription Price, \$3.00.                      Single Copies, 50 Cents.

COPYRIGHT, 1907.

(Entered March 2, 1903, at Philadelphia, Pa., as Second Class matter, under Act of Congress, of March 3, 1879)

PUBLISHED BY

THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,

5821 CHESTER AVENUE,

Philadelphia.

Berlin:  
MAYER & MÜLLER

New York:  
CARL A. STERN

Leipzig:  
F. A. BROCKHAUS

London:  
KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.

Paris:  
H. LESOUDIRE

## ANNOUNCEMENT.

The Bi-Monthly, *GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS*, is a continuation of the Quarterly, *AMERICANA GERMANICA*, and will make accessible to a wider public current matter bearing upon the Relations of Germany and America. Each number will contain a series of original contributions, reviews, book notices and lists of new publications, relating to the history of the Germans in America and also to American studies in the general field of Germanics.

The original title *AMERICANA GERMANICA* will be retained for the series of larger monographs which do not fall within the limits of a periodical, and for reprints. These monographs will be published at such times as they are presented, and will be sold separately, the price varying according to the character of the monograph.

In the Monthly regular attention will be given to reviews and book notices. New publications will be promptly listed and so far as possible reviewed. Contributions, books for review and exchanges are solicited, especially such as come within the scope of the Monthly, and should be sent to the editor, *M. D. Learned, Box 10, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.*

Subscriptions and other business communications should be directed to the business manager, *Charles H. Breitbarth, 5821 Chester Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.*

The annual subscription price is three dollars (\$3.00) in advance. Members of the German American Historical Society are entitled to the periodical publications issued by the Society. To members of other affiliated societies the Monthly will be sent for two dollars (\$2.00), provided not less than a hundred members of such a society subscribe for the journal.

### SPECIAL TO LIBRARIES.

#### GERMAN AMERICAN ANNALS.

As full sets are nearly exhausted, Vol. I-IV will not be sold separately. Back sets can be had as follows:

Volume I,	}	complete . . . . .	\$10.00
Volume II,			
Volume III,			
Volume IV.			
Volume V, Nos. 1-12. . . . .			3.00
Volume VI, Nos. 1-12. . . . .			3.00
Volume VII, Nos. 1-12. . . . .			3.00
Volume VIII, Nos. 1-12. . . . .			3.00

#### AMERICANA GERMANICA (Monographs Bound in Cloth).

1. *Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines.* By E. Z. Davis, Ph. D. . . . . \$1.50
2. *The Harmony Society.* By J. A. Bole, Ph. D. . . . . 1.50
3. *Friedrich Schiller in America.* By E. C. Parry, Ph. D. . . . . 1.25
4. *The Influence of Salomon Gessner Upon English Literature.*  
By Bertha Reed. . . . . 1.25
5. *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri.* By Wm. G. Bek . . . . . 1.50

PRINTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL PRINTING CO.,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

A BI-MONTHLY DEVOTED TO THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE  
**Historical, Literary, Linguistic, Educational and Commercial Relations**  
OF  
**Germany and America**

ORGAN OF

*The German American Historical Society*  
*The National German American Alliance*  
*The Union of Old German Students in America*

EDITOR,

**MARION DEXTER LEARNED,**  
University of Pennsylvania.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS :

**H. C. G. BRANDT,**  
Hamilton College.

**W. H. CARPENTER,**  
Columbia University.

**W. H. CARRUTH,**  
University of Kansas.

**HERMANN COLLITZ,**  
Bryn Mawr College.

**STARR W. CUTTING,**  
University of Chicago.

**DANIEL K. DODGE,**  
University of Illinois.

**A. B. FAUST,**  
Cornell University.

**KUNO FRANCKE,**  
Harvard University.

**ADOLPH GERBER,**  
Late of Earlham College.

**JULIUS GOBBEL,**  
Harvard University.

**J. T. HATFIELD,**  
Northwestern University.

**W. T. HEWETT,**  
Cornell University.

**A. R. HOHLFELD,**  
University of Wisconsin.

**HUGO K. SCHILLING,**  
University of California.

**H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG,**  
University of Chicago.

**HERMANN SCHOENFELD,**  
Columbian University.

**CALVIN THOMAS,**  
Columbia University.

**H. S. WHITE,**  
Harvard University.

**HENRY WOOD,** Johns Hopkins University.

New Series, Vol. 5.

Old Series, Vol. 9.

1907.

PUBLISHED BY

**THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

CHAS. H. BREITBARTH, Business Manager,

Philadelphia.

**Berlin :**

**MAYER & MÜLLER**

**New York :**

**CARL A. STERN**

**Leipzig :**

**F. A. BROCKHAUS**

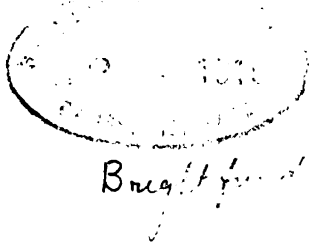
**London :**

**KEGAN, PAUL TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LTD.**

**Paris :**

**H. LESOUDIER**





# German American Annals

CONTINUATION OF THE QUARTERLY

## AMERICANA GERMANICA

---

New Series,  
Vol. V. No. 6.

November and December  
1907.

Old Series,  
Vol. IX. No. 6.

---

FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS,  
The Founder of Germantown.

By MARION DEXTER LEARNED.

[COPYRIGHTED]

### CHAPTER IV.

AGENT OF THE GERMAN COMPANY.

#### *The Voyage.*

The one absorbing desire of Pastorius in leaving his native land was that he might escape the vanities of the old world, and lead a quiet Christian life in the wilds of America. His disgust for the old life, which he was leaving behind in Europe, is strongly expressed in the farewell letter written to his father and friends from Deal, as he was embarking for the new world. The letter is dated June 7th, 1683, and runs, in English translation, as follows:

“After I had seen enough of the countries and provinces of Europe, and considered the impending *motus belli*, and the disquieting changes and disruptions of my native land, I yielded to the special guidance of the Supreme Being to journey to Pennsylvania, cherishing the hope that this my purpose might turn out to the best interests of my dear kinsmen, and to the advancement of God’s honor (which is my highest aim), especially as the libertinism and sins of the European world are increasing more and more from

day to day in such a manner that the righteous judgments of God cannot long be delayed.<sup>1</sup>

In all my doings I had taken this vanity and presumption to heart and considered their final issue with deep reflection, how life and limb, property and goods, ambition and lust, are subject to death and decay. But the soul once lost is lost forever. *Semel perisse aeternum est.*

Accordingly I have entered upon this journey and passage across the great ocean under God's guidance the more cheerfully, in order to escape temporal and eternal ruin, and together with nine persons attached to me, in company with a number of respected families, sailed from Deal, the 7th<sup>2</sup> of June, 1683, in the hope that the Lord, who till this hour has so richly blessed me and commanded his angels to keep watch over me, will so rule my outgoing and incoming that thereby His most Holy Name may be praised in unknown places beyond the sea.

I commit then my father and all the dear ones at home to the protecting hand of the Almighty, and as soon as the Lord shall bring me to Pennsylvania I shall give a more detailed account of all. But should it be his Holy Will to summon me on the way, I am ready with all my heart, and so on this account take leave of my father as befits a son, obediently thanking him again for all the love and fidelity which have been manifested in such superabundance. May God repay it in time and eternity.

I recall having read in my tour the following epitaph:

“Der ich bey frembder Grufft so manche Schrifft gelesen,  
Und deren gute Zahl in dieses Buch gebracht,  
Weiss nicht wo? wan? und wie? ich selbstn werd verwesen,  
Drum gib ich Welt-Lust dir nun tausend gute Nacht.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The impression of impending European disaster, so deeply engraved on Pastorius' mind, is not to be regarded as evidence that he entertained Chilistic views of the approaching end of the world, but rather as a prophetic presentiment of the catastrophe which culminated in the French Revolution.

A similar reflection is expressed in a letter written home March 7th, 1684 (cf. Zürich A.).

<sup>2</sup> This would seem to show that the letter was written immediately after Pastorius' arrival in Deal, when he expected the ship to sail at once. As we learn from the Genealogical Sketch (*Beehive*, 223), and other sources he did not sail for America until June 10th, 1683.

<sup>3</sup> I who on foreign graves have oft inscriptions read,  
And many too of these into this book did write,  
Know not where, when, nor how I shall myself lie dead;  
To thee then, worldly joy, a thousand times good night.

Should we not see one another again here below, we shall in Heaven. If otherwise, we shall fulfil the will of God here on earth, which I desire from the depths of my soul, and remain till death,  
My father's faithful and obedient

F. D. P."<sup>4</sup>

Pastorius sailed from Deal on the 10th of June, 1683, and arrived in Philadelphia August 20th, 1683, six weeks earlier than the main body of the first German colonists, the Crefelders and others, who arrived on the 6th of October, 1683. He had with him nine persons: four males, two maids, two children and a lad.<sup>5</sup> One of the maids was a Hollander whom he had employed in Deal after his arrival from London. He came over on the ship *America*, which was commanded by Captain Vasey, and drew thirteen feet of water. There were some eighty other passengers in the company. The journey was attended with much stormy weather and marred by the customary bad fare. A number of mishaps occurred during the voyage. The foremast of the ship as broken by the violence of the storm, the two carved lions of the ship's bell<sup>6</sup> fell upon Pastorius, nearly breaking his back. On another occasion he fell during a severe storm and was confined to his bed for some days in consequence. He remarks in his waggish humor that these two falls reminded him emphatically of the first fall of our first parents, which was visited upon their posterity. Accidents befell some of those also, who were with

---

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Umständige geographische Beschreibung Der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provinz Pennsylvaniae*, etc. 1700, pp 45-47: Copia Genommenen Abschieds Francisci Danielis Pastorii von seinem Vatter und Befreundten. Aus Deal den 7. Junii 1683.

<sup>5</sup> They were Jacob Schumacher, Georg Wertmüller, Isaac Dilbeck with his wife (Marietta) and two boys (Abraham and Jacob), Thomas Gasper, Conrad Bacher (alias Rutter) and Frances Simson, an English maid. (Cf. Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der Deutsch-Pennsylvanischen Geschichte*, p. 38.)

<sup>6</sup> The original passage is: "Zwey ausgehauene Löben der Schiffglocke," which evidently refers to the ornamental frame work of the *ship's bell*.



him. Georg Wertmüller had a serious fall, Thomas Gasper had a severe eruption on his body, and the English maid had an attack of erysipelas. Pastorius states that he had a small ship's hospital on board, although he alone of all the Germans had his quarters among the English passengers.<sup>7</sup> One of the sailors went crazy, and the ship was shaken by repeated attacks of a whale.

The hardships of the voyage were increased by the poor and scanty fare which forced them to live "medicè ac modicè." The allowance for ten persons was three pounds of butter a week, four measures of beer a day, two measures of water a day, two dishes of peas at midday, meat at midday four times a week, and fish for the midday meal three times a week. This they had to prepare with their own allowance of butter and save enough from the midday meal for supper. The worst of all was that the meat and fish were so salt and stale that they could scarcely eat it. Pastorius himself had taken the precaution, upon the advice of a friend in England, to lay in some supplies before sailing, and in his account advises others either to procure their own provisions or to have a binding contract both as to quantity and quality of the food to be served on the voyage. He advises further that voyagers should, if possible, take passage on ships sailing directly to Philadelphia, as those landing in Upland are subjected to many annoyances.<sup>8</sup>

It was a very mixed company of passengers who came over

---

<sup>7</sup> Pastorius took quarters among the English passengers evidently in the hope of better service and associations, as he was travelling as a gentleman, or, at least, as a man of some consequence in his capacity as agent of the German Society.

<sup>8</sup> Amandus Johnson, Harrison Fellow in Germanics at the University of Pennsylvania, has suggested that Pastorius may still have remembered the Swedes unfavorably, because his grandfather Martinus Pastorius had met death at the hands of the Swedes during the occupation of Erfurt in the Thirty Years' War.

on the *America* with Pastorius: A Doctor of Medicine<sup>9</sup> with his wife and eight children, a French captain, a Low German pastry cook, an apothecary, a glassblower, a blacksmith, a cabinet-maker, a cooper, a hatter, a shoemaker, a tailor, a gardener, yeomen, seamstresses, etc., some eighty persons in all besides the crew. The oldest woman was sixty years of age, and the youngest child twelve weeks old. Pastorius states that there were with him Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Episcopalians, and only one Quaker. He not unfittingly remarks that the ship might be likened to Noah's Ark.

On the 11th of August they cast anchor for the first time, and, finding that they were near the Great Sand Bank, they sailed a hundred miles out of their course to safe waters. On the 16th, to their great delight, they sighted America, reached the Delaware Bay on the 18th, passed New Castle, Upland and Tinicum Island on the 20th, arriving on the evening of the same day at Philadelphia, after a voyage of ten weeks.

#### *The German Company or German Society.*

The group of German purchasers of land in Pennsylvania, for whom Pastorius was agent, was in the beginning rather an aggregation of individuals than an organized land company. It must be noted that Pastorius, in his earlier reports, speaks of his constituents as the German Company, or High German Company or Society ("Hoch-teutsche Compagnia," "Hoch-Teutsche Societät," "Teutsche Compagnia," "Teutsche Societät," "Teutsche Compagnia oder Societät"). The German Company or Society seems to have consisted of a group of sympathetic friends or acquaintances in Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Duisburg, Wesel and

---

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Lloyd, afterwards President of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania. It appears that Lloyd and his first wife (Mary Jones, of Welchpool) had at the time of sailing for America nine children instead of eight, as stated by Pastorius. This may be explained by the fact that the youngest child, Deborah, was an infant. (Cf. Charles P. Keith, *The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania*, pp. 16-17.)

other places, who had come into contact with William Penn and the Quakers in the preceding years, and had purchased lands in Pennsylvania with the purpose of settling there, or at least of sending representatives to take up lands for them. Pastorius mentions the following as the most interested participants in this company in its beginning: Jacob von de Walle,<sup>10</sup> Dr. Johann Jacob Schütz, Daniel Behagel, merchant, all three at Frankfort-on-the-Main; Dr. Gerhard von Mastricht at Duisburg, Dr. Thomas von Wolich<sup>11</sup> and Johann Lebrunn at Wesel, Benjamin Furlly at Rotterdam, Philipp Fort at London. These men also forwarded letters and wares for emigrants and furnished desired information and advice to those wishing to emigrate to Pennsylvania.<sup>12</sup>

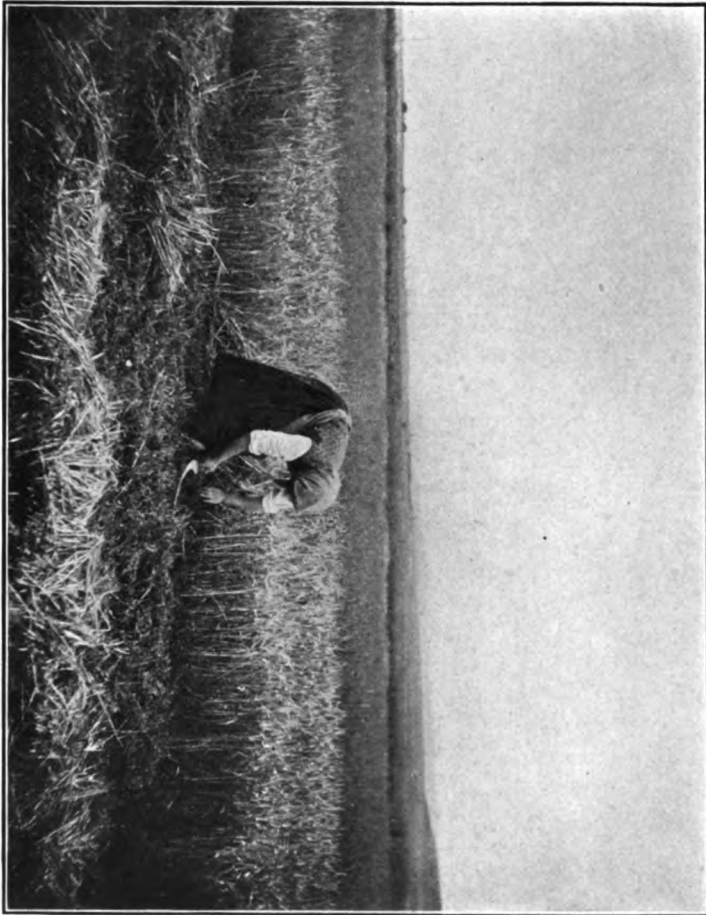
The actual purchasers in the German Company or Society who first transferred the official management of their interests to Pastorius April 2d, 1683, may be seen in the following power of attorney in English translation in Pastorius' own hand:

"At all times & in all things the Lord be praised! Whereas Francis Daniel Pastorius U. J. Licentus a German of Winsheim in Franckenland did signify his Inclination to travel towards Pennsylvania, viz. that Province in America, which heretofore was called New Netherland, Jacob van de Wallen of Francfort Mercht. for himself & as Attorney of John William Petersen of Lubeck, and of his wife Johanna Eleonora van Mörlaw, as also John Jacob Schutz of Francfort U. J. Licentus and Daniel Behagel & Caspar Merian of Francfort Merchants have trusted & committed unto him the Care & Administration of all their Estate, lands & Rights which they lawfully obtained there of William Penn Governr in that part, So that the said Pastorius in the Name of the Constituents shall receive &

<sup>10</sup> Pastorius gives the High German from "von" here instead of the usual and correct form "van," the name being Jacob van de Walle. The form "Wallen" instead of "Walle," which is sometimes found in German and transferred into English, is really the oblique case of "Walle," as proper names were then inflected.

<sup>11</sup> Also written "Wylich" (or "Willich") and "Le Brunn."

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Umständige geographische Beschreibung*, p. 35. For an account of the several individuals of the Company cf. S. W. Pennypacker's *Germantown*.



REAPING WITH THE SICKLE OUTSIDE OF WINDSHEIM.  
(1903)



Conserve in the best form of Law the things themselves, the Possession thereof and other Rights: Order the Tillage of the ground & what belongs to husbandry there according to the best diligence, hire Labourers, grant part of the land to others, take the yearly Revenues or Rents; and shall & may do all what the Owners may do in Administration: nevertheless all sorts of Alienation & Mortgaging excepted. To this end a certain sum of money has been delivered to his trusty hands: Of all which he shall & will yearly give an account to the Constituents or their heirs; but the Constituents will not be obliged to any man by all his doings & Contracts: What will be reasonable will be assigned unto him out of the expected Incomes or Rents in Pensilvania. This being thus done hath been subscribed by the Parties own hands, Confirmed by publick authority and committed to divine blessing, Jn Francfort on Mayn a free City of the German Empire in the year of Christ according to vulgar account 1683, the 2d day of the 2d month commonly called April.

(Seal) Jacobus vande Walle for myself & as Attorney of John Wm. Petersen and his wife Johanna Eleonora van Merlaw.

(Seal) John Jacob Schutz  
(Seal) Caspar Merian.

(Seal) Daniel Behagel.

(Seal) Francis Daniel Pastorius.

(Seal) That the aforesd Parties did agree to all the above Contents, and Jn my presence Sign, Seal and Acknowledge the same, J do hereby witness the Date as above mentioned

Christian Fenda Imperial Approved & Jmātriculated  
Publick Notary here.

Manu & Sigillo."

Endorsed on the back in Pastorius' hand as follows: "A Translation of Francis Daniel Pastorius his Letter of Attorney."

*The Crefeld Purchasers.*

Another company of German purchasers (not members of this German Company or Society, the so-called Frankfurters, in its first inception, as it seems) had already purchased land in Penn-

sylvania and were planning to make a settlement there. They were the so-called Crefeld Purchasers, some of whom had bought land in Penn's Province as early as March, 1682. The active spirit among these Crefelders was Jacob Telner, who had visited Pennsylvania in the years 1678-1681, and after his return to Europe had induced or agreed with his friends to buy extensive tracts of land in Penn's Province. Two groups of these Crefeld Purchasers appear in the Land Records. The first group included Jacob Telner<sup>13</sup> of Crefeld, dealing as merchant in Amsterdam; Jan Strepers<sup>14</sup> of Kaldenkirchen, and Dirck Sipman<sup>15</sup> of Crefeld,

---

<sup>13</sup> "This Indenture made the Second day of the fourth month called June in the four and thirtieth year of the reign of King Charles the Second over England &c. Año Dñi one thousand six hundred eighty & three Between William Penn of Worminghurst in the county of Sussex Esq of the first part & Jacob Telner of Amsterdam in the Province of Holland Mrcht of the other pt. Whereas the said William Penn by his Indentures of Lease & Release bearing date the ninth & tenth day of the month called March for the Consideration therein mentioned did alien grant bargain sell release & confirm unto the said Iacob Telner his Heirs & Assigns forever the full & just proportion & quantity of five thousand acres to be admeasured & computed according to the dimensions of acres mentioned & appointed &c." (*Exemplification Records*, I, 441, and VIII, 655.)

The year 1683 should be 1682, as the first year of the reign of Charles II. was 1649. The most cogent argument against 1683 is the fact that William Penn was then in Pennsylvania. (Cf. S. W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown*, pp. 54-55.) Pastorius gives the year 1682. (Cf. *Grund- und Lager-Buch*.)

<sup>14</sup> The name is written also "Streepers" and "Streypers." The following passage from the indenture deed gives the essential data:

"Whereas by my Indentures of Lease & Release bearing date the ninth and tenth days of the month called March in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred eighty two for the considerations therein mentioned I granted unto John Streipers of Kaldenkirchen in the county of Iuliers in the borders of Germany Merchant five thousand acres of land to be taken up in the sd Province &c." (*Exemplification Rec.*, I, p. 441.)

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the following passage:

"William Penn true and absolute Proprietary and Governor in Chief of the province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging to all to whom these presents shall come sendeth Greeting. Whereas by my Indentures of lease and release dated the ninth and tenth days of March Anno Sixteen

each of whom purchased of William Penn, on March 9th and 10th, 1682, 5000 acres of land in Pennsylvania. These purchasers were evidently the first fruits of Telner's prospecting tour in Pennsylvania, and the contracts were executed while Penn was still in England. The second group of Crefeld Purchasers consisted of Covert Ranckes<sup>16</sup> of Crefeld, Jacob Isaacs van Bebber,<sup>17</sup> and Lenert Arets<sup>18</sup>, each of whom purchased 1,000 acres of Pennsylvania land in June 1682. The indenture of sale to Ranckes and van Bebber is dated June 10th and 11th, 1683, and that to Arets is given in one case as June 11th, 1683. The purchases of the first group of Crefelders were made before Pastorius had returned to Frankfurt from his tour with Bodeck; the purchases of the second group were made on the day and day after Pastorius embarked from Gravesend for America, but before the Crefelders sailed for Pennsylvania.

---

hundred eighty two in consideration of one hundred pounds sterling money I granted five thousand acres of land to Dirick Sipman of Crevett in the county of Meurs on the borders of Germany &c." (*Exempl. Record*, I, 462.)

<sup>16</sup>The name is written by Pastorius in the *Grund- und Lager-Buch* as "Remckins," which is doubtless the correct form, although the form "Remke" also occurs, and the *Exempl. Records* have "Ranckes." Cf. this: "\* \* And whereas by my like Indentures of lease and release bearing date the tenth and eleventh days of June in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty three in consideration of twenty pounds I granted one thousand acres of land to be laid out in the said Province to Covert Banckes [Ranckes] of Crevelt aforesaid &c." (*Exempl. Rec.* I, p. 470.)

<sup>17</sup>For the Van Bebbers cf. S. W. Pennypacker in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* for . . . The record runs:

"\* \* Whereas by like Indentures of lease and release bearing even date with the last above recited indentures of lease and release [9th and 10th of March 1682, Indentures to Dirick Sipman] in consideration of twenty pounds I granted one thousand acres of land to Jacob Isaacs Vanbebber &c." (*Exempl. Rec.* I, p. 473.)

<sup>18</sup>Cf. "\* \* Whereas by my Indentures of Lease & Release bearing date the tenth & eleventh days of June in the year one thousand six hundred eighty three for the Considerations therein Mentioned I granted to Leonart Arretts then of Crevelt in the County of Meurs in the borders of Germany Linen Weaver (but now of Germantown in the sd Province) the quantity of one thousand acres of land to be laid out in the sd Province" &c. (*Exempl. Rec.* I, p. 708.)



*Taking up Land and Founding the German Town*

The beginnings of the German settlement are best gathered from the Land Records and the Reports which Pastorius sent to his friends and constituents in Germany. A number of these letters, reports, etc., are still extant, entire or in part, many of them having been later incorporated or abstracted in the *Umständige Beschreibung* of 1700. These sources arranged in chronological order are:

1.—A letter from Pastorius to his father and stepmother, dated March 7th, 1684, now found in the City Library of Zürich, Switzerland. It will be cited in the following pages as "Zürich-A."

2.—An accurate report from America, dated March 7th, 1684, sent by Pastorius to his friends in Germany, a printed copy of which is found in the City Library of Zürich. It will be quoted here as "Zürich B." This report was incorporated in substance later in the *Beschreibung*, p. 41 ff. (See photographic reproduction.) Cf. J. F. Sasche, *Letters relating to the Settlement of Germantown, &c.*, pp. 3-7.

3.—Pastorius' report to the German Society, dated the end of November, 1684. This is found in the *Beschreibung*, p. 16 ff.

4.—Pastorius' report of January 7th, 1684, found in the *Beschreibung*, p. 39.

5.—Pastorius' letter to Dr. Schütz, dated May 30th, 1685 (*Beschreibung*, p. 47).

6.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated October 10th, 1691 (*Beschreibung*, p. 49 ff).

7.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated June 1st, 1693 (*Beschreibung*, p. 54 ff).

8.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated March 30th, 1694 (*Beschreibung*, p. 64 ff)

9.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated January 21st, 1694 (*Beschreibung*, p. 70 f).

10.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated the last of April, 1695 (*Beschreibung*, p. 68 f).

11.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated March 1st, 1697, enclosing also a letter from Pastorius' two sons, John Samuel and Henry (*Beschreibung*, p. 71 ff).

12.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated May 13, 1697 (*Beschreibung*, p. 75 ff).

13.—Contents of a letter of Pastorius' to Rector Georg Leonhard Modelius (*Beschreibung*, p. 77 ff).

14.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated May 30th, 1698 (*Beschreibung*, p. 81 ff).

15.—Letter of Melchior Adam Pastorius to William Penn, January 20th, 1698 (*Beschreibung*, p. 94).

16.—Penn's answer to M. A. Pastorius' letter, April 25th, 1699 (*Beschreibung*, p. 96).

17.—Pastorius' letter to his father, dated March 4th, 1699, enclosing, as it appears, the second letter of Pastorius' sons to their grandfather (*Beschreibung*, p. 98 ff).

18.—Melchior Adam Pastorius' answer to the letter of his grandsons (*Beschreibung*, p. 103 ff).

In addition to these we have other invaluable sources of information such as:

1.—Old Land Record of Germantown (*Grund- und Lager-Buch*).

2.—Pastorius Manuscripts (a collection of seventeen separate manuscripts relating to the lands of the Frankfurt Company, found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

3.—Original letter of attorney to Falkner, Kelpius and Jawert (in the possession of former Governor S. W. Pennypacker).

4.—Land documents in the office of Recorder of Deeds, Philadelphia, and in the Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg.

5.—The Court Record of Germantown (*Raths-Buch*) in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

It is possible from this score of letters and reports to con-

struct a fairly full account of the part taken by Pastorius in the founding and early growth of Germantown.

As has already been seen from the Genealogical Sketch, the German Company or German Society had purchased 15,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania. This purchase was made through Benjamin Furly, Penn's plenipotentiary agent in Rotterdam, before Pastorius sailed for America. Furly was also plenipotentiary agent at Rotterdam for the German Society, as appears in a contract dated June 8th, 1683, after Pastorius' departure from Holland for London.<sup>19</sup> These contracts ("verfertigte Documenta u. Contracten") which Furly had made out in Rotterdam, Pastorius took along with him to have them confirmed in England. Inasmuch, however, as Penn had already sailed for America, August 3, 1682, and the books in London had been closed, Pastorius could not finally settle the details of the agreement until he met Penn in Philadelphia.<sup>20</sup>

Accordingly, without unnecessary delay, on the 21st of August, 1683, the day after arriving in Philadelphia, Pastorius called on Penn and was heartily received both by the Proprietary and his Secretary, Johann Lehenmann.<sup>21</sup> Pastorius states that he entered into the most intimate friendship with Lehenmann. When the location of the land purchased by the members of the Germany Society, came up for discussion. Penn was disinclined to confirm the original agreement, which called for the following:

---

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the following passage in the deed of John Luken and his wife Mary to Eve Bellongé, 8th 3d mo. (May) 1697:

"Fifty acres \* \* \* granted by Benjamin Furly Agent & Attorney of the Franckfort Company at Rotterdam to John Luken \* \* \* which sd deed beareth date the 8th day of the month called June Anno 1683."

<sup>20</sup> Furly had inquired of Claypoole about this matter and received the reply that the location of the land lay in the power of Penn alone (cf. Claypoole's letter of January 24, 1682-3, *Claypoole's Letter Book* in Hist. Soc. of Pa.)

<sup>21</sup> The name is written in the *Colonial Records*, Philip Theodore Lenman and Ph. Thleman. Pastorius evidently has confused the name of Philip Theodor Lehnmann with that of his father, Johann Georg Lehnmann, farmer-general of Saxony.

1.—15,000 acres of land together in one tract on a navigable stream.

2.—300 acres in the City Liberties,<sup>22</sup> between the Delaware and the Schuylkill.

3.—3 lots in the city of Philadelphia for the erection of houses.

In reply to Pastorius' request for warrants, surveys, etc., Penn answered the three points in substance as follows:

1.—That the lots in the city and the 300 acres in the Liberties could not be justly assigned to the Society, because they were not purchased till after he had left England and the books in London had been closed. Pastorius, however standing on his rights, urged that these Germans were the forerunners of all German colonists, and therefore due more consideration. Penn finally yielded, and issued a warrant for the survey of three lots from the share of William Penn, Jr., son of the proprietor, in the beginning of the city. The first and second lots assigned were 100 feet wide and 400 feet deep. The third lot was the largest of all. There was room on each lot for two houses in front and two in the rear. These lots may be seen on the diagram of lots which Pastorius sent with his report. The condition of tenure of these lots was that at least one house be built on each lot within two years.

he, Penn,

On the first lot Pastorius and his hired man built a house "half under and half above ground," 15 feet wide and 30 feet long. As glass was scarce, the windows were made of paper saturated with oil. The cellar of the house was 7 feet deep, 12 feet wide and 20 feet long. Over the door of the house Pastorius placed the following inscription:

"Parva domus, sed amica bonis, procul este profphani."<sup>23</sup>

Pastorius boasted that this house, though small, had fur-

<sup>22</sup> Called also "Liberty Lands" or simply "The Liberties."

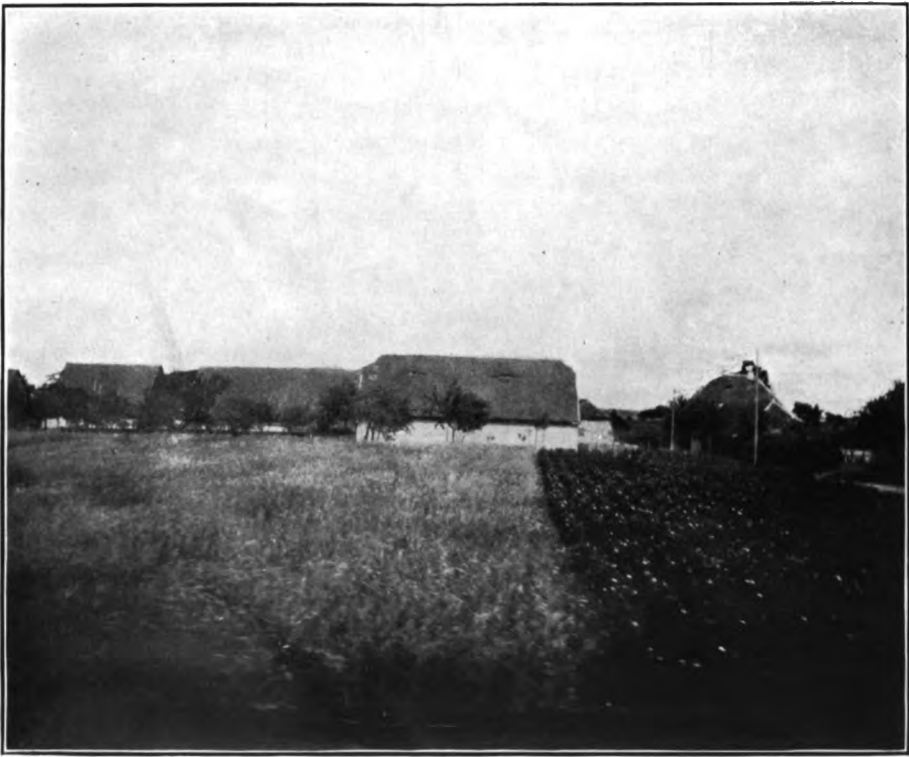
<sup>23</sup> It may be freely rendered as follows:

"Small is my house, but friendly to good men and closed to the evil."

nished shelter for twenty of the Crefelders during their sojourn in Philadelphia while houses were being built for them in Germantown.

2.—Penn objected to assigning to the Germans the 300 acres in the City Liberties because land there was only offered to purchasers who bought tracts of 5,000 acres before he left England, and the German Society was not among these. But Pastorius was again persistent, and presented a second "memorial" to Penn, urging the rights of the Germans. Whereupon Penn, because of his special fondness for the Germans, consented to grant them the 300 acres in one tract, but declared he would extend this favor to no one else who bought land in the Liberties after the closing of the books in London, no matter who he might be! This land Pastorius began to till by planting Indian corn upon it.

3.—The assignment of the 15,000 (or 12,000) acres in the large tract likewise encountered objections on the part of Penn. Pastorius mentions two chief obstacles: First, that Penn did not wish to assign so much land in one tract, while a large amount of land was still vacant; and, second, he objected to assigning the land on the Delaware, where all was taken up. This refusal nullified that part of the contract of the German Company's purchase which called for land on a navigable stream, inasmuch as the desirable tracts of this size on the Schuylkill below the Falls, the only desirable region left, seem not to have been available, at least in the mind of the Proprietary. But in the case of this third tract, as in the two previous instances, Pastorius was persistent in urging the claims of the Germans. He argued that it would be prejudicial to the Germans and to their posterity to be scattered among the English; that Benjamin Furly had shown them William Penn's autograph letter in Rotterdam, in which the original promise was made. Penn finally yielded a third time to the pleadings of Pastorius and issued a warrant for the land, making it a condition of tenure, that thirty families should be settled upon it within one year, in three townships, with ten families each, including the three families already there.



**THE OUTSKIRTS OF WINDSHEIM IN 1903.  
(Wheat and Poppy Fields in the Foreground.)**



These concessions seem not to have been finally made by Penn until after the arrival of the Crefelders on the 6th (or 16th, New Style) of October, 1683. It was evidently the plan of Penn to wait for the actual arrival of a considerable number of Germans and then assign lands as the number and character of the new arrivals seemed to justify.

There was not a little vacillation on the part of the prospecting German colonists as to the wisdom of emigrating to America. This was particularly the case with the members of the German Company. In the outset it was evidently expected that a considerable number of the Frankfurt purchasers should actually settle in Pennsylvania. This is apparent from the correspondence of Claypoole and Furly, and from the letter of Pastorius to Dr. Schütz in Frankfurt, dated November 14, 1685.

In the early letters to Furly under date of January 24, 1682-3, May 15, 1683, May 18, 1683, Claypoole speaks of the prospective German passengers of the *Concord* as "Franckforders,"<sup>24</sup> "Ffranckfurtrs,"<sup>25</sup> "Ffranckfords."<sup>26</sup> It is not till the letter of June 5, 1683, that we hear of them as "the people from Crevelt." This letter shows that Furly had sent a list of thirty-three persons (the so-called Crefelders) to Claypoole.<sup>27</sup> From this time on we find no further mention of the Frankfurters, which seems to indicate clearly that the great things expected of the Frank-

---

<sup>24</sup> The passage in question in letter of January 24, 1682-3, runs: "As for thine and ye Ffranckfordrs land to bee sett out upon a Navigable River, that is only in ye power of ye Governour to doe," etc.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. letter of May 15, 1683: "So it will be yett about 6 weeks, before wee leave England, which thou mayst advise ye Ffranckfurtrs, that they may be ready against the tyme," etc.

<sup>26</sup> Letter of May 18, 1683: "As J have advised thee in my last that we were lymited to the 30th next month to be ready to sayle from Gravesend so that if the Ffranckfords do intend to goe in our ship they must be at Gravesend by that time," etc.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Letter of June 5, 1683: "J understand the people of Crevelt have agreed to goe in our ship and so have 287 Rthlr to remit thee for ½ their freit," etc.



furtherers or the German Company in the beginning of the correspondence were left for the Crefelders to carry out.

After the long and annoying delays recited in the letters of Claypoole, the Crefelders finally set sail from Gravesend and arrived at Philadelphia on the 6th (or 16th, New Style) of October, 1683. They numbered thirteen families, thirty-three full passengers in all. Their names are given by Pastorius<sup>28</sup> as follows: Dirck op den Graeff, Abraham op den Graeff, Herman op den Graeff, Lenert Arets, Thones Kunders, Reinert Tisen, William Strepers, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Simen, Johannes Bleickers, Abraham Tunis, and Jan Luken.

On the 12th of October, 1683, six days after the arrival of the Crefelders, Penn issued a warrant to Pastorius in behalf of the German and Dutch purchasers for 6,000 acres of land on the east side of the Schuylkill:

“William Penn Proprietary & Governr of ye Province of Pennsylvania | & ye Territories thereunto belonging | At ye Request of Daniel Pastorius in behalf of ye Germans & Dutch Purchasers yt J would grant ym Six Thousand Acres, to settle upon. These are to will & require thee forthwth to survey or cause to be survey'd unto him for ym ye said Number of Acres on ye Eastside of Skulkill River and make returns there of into my Secretary's Office. Given at Philadelphia, ye 12th 8br. 1683.

Wm. Penn.<sup>29</sup>

For Thomas Holme  
Surveyr General.”

On the back of the warrant is the following endorsement in German, in Pastorius' own hand:

“Warrant vor ein Downship von 6,000 ackers.”

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Grund- und Lager-Buch*, p. —. Friedrich Kapp (*Frans Daniel Pastorius, Beschreibung von Pennsylvanien*) made an effort to determine the forms of the names as found in Crefeld sources with the following result: Dietrich op de Graeff, Hermann op de Graeff, Abraham op de Graeff, Leonhard Arets, Tünis Strepers, Jan Lensen, Peter Kuirlis, Jan Simens, Johann Bleikers, Abraham Tünies, Jan Luycken.

<sup>29</sup> Philadelphia Old Rights, No. 1869 (Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg.)

It was on this tract that Pastorius, twelve days later, on the 24th of October, 1683, laid out the first German township and began the German settlement which he called Germantown, because it was inhabited by Germans. It appears from the same documentary source<sup>80</sup> that the 6,000 acres were divided equally between the German Company or Society and the Crefeld purchasers, each party receiving 3,000 acres. Thus the settlement of Germantown was effected by the union of the interests of the Crefeld Purchasers and the German Society. This is evidently what Penn has in mind when he refers to the "Germans and Dutch Purchasers" in the warrant. Then Zürich A gives us the further interesting information that Penn had set apart for the Germans, in addition to the 6,000 acres above mentioned, another tract of 12,000 acres, which he called New Franconia, ("Neu Franckenland"), possibly with the expectation that this should become more distinctively a settlement of High Germans, that is, of the German Society proper, the so-called Frankfurters, who had promised to follow Pastorius to America. This seems the more likely inasmuch as the majority of the first settlers of Germantown, the Crefelders, bore for the most part Low German names, and came from near the Low German border. Pastorius, however, in his report bearing the same date, March 7, 1684, refers to this New Franconia as if it were to include the whole German colony of present and prospective settlers. The original German translated into English runs as follows:

"I could wish for my small part that we receive a small separate province, and be so much the better able to protect ourselves from oppression. If one of you could release himself to come hither and bring with him so many families, your own best interests would be incomparably advanced thereby, particularly as he, W. Penn, only day before yesterday said to me that he would favor you above all the English settlers, in this case, who had previously purchased but were not yet here, and would grant certain privileges in our New Franconia (so he called the tract designed for us). In

---

<sup>80</sup> Cf. *Sichere Nachricht*, Zürich B., p. 6.

case, however, it is too difficult for you to transport so many families in such a short time, it would be well, in my judgment, which of course is not binding, that the friends of \_\_\_\_\_ accept a few thousand acres and assist some households, from their rich abundance, to come hither in order that the 15,000 acres may be assigned to us together and without any English neighbors intervening; especially as he wishes to grant them too far from this city, namely, on the Schuylkill above the Falls, where he himself thinks of building a house and establishing a Manor. The land next to the river is quite hilly, and not ill-adapted to grape culture; but further in, it is level and productive. The worst is that it is impossible to pass the falls and the rocks with a boat (except when there has been much rain, and then not without danger). Inasmuch as I did not know what you would decide to do in this case, and yet much depends upon this matter; also concerning the oft mentioned 15,000 acres with the cost of 28 pounds sterling, viz., 5 shillings of English currency for every 100 acres, as charges for surveying, which money I have not on hand, I must wait for your decision in order not to transgress the limits of a faithful agent. In order, however, that I may locate the three families which have arrived upon their 600 acres, I have united with the Crefelders (who have bought 18,000 although they cannot obtain them in one tract) and taken up 6,000 acres for a township, of which they have 3,000 and we 3,000. This city I laid out the 24th of October and called it Germantown."

Thus the first German pioneer cherished the idea of a separate German Province within the larger Province of Pennsylvania, "a State within the State," in which the German colonists might have their own peculiar rights, institutions and mode of life.

So it appears that without the Crefeld purchasers, the founding of Germantown could scarcely have been effected, as Pastorius had with him neither the purchasers of his German Company or Society, nor settlers to take up the land which the Society had purchased. It was possible only by uniting the interests of the Crefelders and those of the German Society to secure a grant in one solid tract. The Crefelders had bought in all 18,000 acres of land, but could not obtain a grant for it all in one tract. Pastorius, having encountered like difficulties in securing a large tract, and having three families representing the lands of the Ger-

man Society, joined the two interests in order to accomplish in the form of a compromise the purpose of the two groups of settlers.

Such were the arduous labors and devious ways through which Pastorius passed in founding the first German colony. It was his untiring patience, steady persistence, and masterful tact which won these important concessions from Penn in the face of the pronounced opposite policy of the Proprietary. Only a man well versed in the intricate science of law and acquainted with the conditions of both settler and Proprietary could have achieved such an amicable arrangement as that which Pastorius secured for the German township.

The settlement, Germantown, was laid out with one main street, sixty feet wide, and cross streets forty feet wide. Three acres were allowed as the lot for each house; Pastorius, however, had double that number of acres for his own house. The location of the lots is shown in an old map of Germantown of the year 1688. It will be seen from this map, as well as from the surveys, that this first German settlement was not located on the Schuylkill, as seems to have originally been contemplated, but some distance eastward toward Mill Creek, a small tributary of the Wingacocum. Thus the original agreement that the German tract should be on a navigable stream was, after all, evaded by Penn, who seems to have been inclined to circumvent or alter the original agreement with the Germans at every essential point.

Step by step the German town grew and throve so that Pastorius was able to report on the 7th of March, 1684, that twelve families, numbering forty-two persons in all, were living happily in the new settlement. It appears, from the next report from Pastorius, in a letter to Dr. Schütz in Frankfurt, dated May 30th, 1685, that he himself was still living in Philadelphia, although he writes that his thoughts are now in Philadelphia and now in Germantown.

The first year in the new settlement was naturally one of great hardship and exposure. Pastorius offered temporary shel-

ter under his own modest roof for some of the newly arrived Germans, and the rest found quarters elsewhere, according to tradition in "caves"<sup>81</sup> or rather probably rude huts, with cellars, until houses were ready for them in Germantown. The most pinching circumstances were the scarcity of money and provisions, and the lack of carpenters and other skilled workmen. These conditions are graphically set forth in the report of March 7, 1684.<sup>82</sup>

The land transactions of Pastorius as agent of the German Company during the early years may be seen in the *Grund- und Lager-Buch*. Relatively few sales or rentals of land are recorded. A glance at this old record will give the impression that Pastorius opened the book with large expectations, but was obliged to leave most of the large folios blank. The following transfers by Pastorius for the German Company are entered:

1.—The transfer of 50 acres to Paul Wulff, under date of July 29, 1685 (*Grund- und Lager-Buch*, p. 207).

2.—The transfer of 50 acres to Abraham Isaacs op de Graeff, March 15, 1686 (*Grund- und Lager-Buch*, p. 199).

3.—The transfer of 25 acres to Isaac Dilbeeck by a deed dated May 27, 1686 (*Grund- und Lager-Buch*, p. 159).

The following transfers were effected entirely or in part by members of the company on the other side of the Atlantic and were later confirmed and recorded in Pennsylvania:

1. Fifty acres \* \* \* \* were "granted by Benjamin Furly, Agent and Attorney of the Franckfort Company at Rotterdam, to John Luken, his heirs and assigns for ever, which sd deed beareth date the 8th day of the month called June Anno 1683" (*Grund- und Lager-Buch*, p. 105).

2.—Johañ Willhelm Ueberfeldt deeded his 1,000 acres to Francis Daniel Pastorius, July 11, 1683. The deed was executed

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *Sichere Nachricht* (Zürich B.), p. 6 ff., in the photographic reproduction.

in Frankfurt-on-the-Main (a copy in German and in English translation is found in Pastorius' hand among the Pastorius MSS. in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

3.—“Thomas van Wylich and Jhon le Brun, both partners of the Franckfurt Company, by the third article of in Indenture made with Heyvert Papen the 23d of the 1st month 1 March, 1685,” deeded 50 acres to Heyvert Papen (*Grund-und Lager-Buch*, p. 219).

4.—Johann Jacob Schütz, Jacobus van de Walle and Daniel Behagel made a contract with Johann and Arnold Cassel, who were to take up and cultivate 50 acres of land in Pennsylvania. This document is so explicit in detail that we print it here in the original German.<sup>88</sup> It is attested by the Imperial Notary, Christian Fenda, at Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

---

<sup>88</sup> Im namen Gottes haben Johann Jacob Schütz, Jacobus von de Walle und Daniel Behagel für sich und im namen derer Mitgenossen Pennsilvanischer Compagnie Zu Franckfurt am Mayn in Teutschland und Consorten, als Erbverleyer an Einem Theil mit uns Johann und Arnold Cassel, Vatter und Sohn, beyden ackersleuten, unseres alters respectivè 47. und 22. Jahr als Erbbeständern andern theils nach folgender gestalt contrahirt und geschlossen: Erstlich sollen und wollen wir uns samit den unserigen und gehöriger Nothurfft, auff unsere alleinige kosten, so bald möglich, von hier über Engelland nacher Peñsilvania in America begeben; 2. Die von besagter Compagnie dortigen Sachwalter uns daselbst im wald angewiesene Fünftzig Morgen oder acker lands in bau bringen; Das darauff befindliche Holtz ausrotten, und benöthigte wohnung, scheürn und stallungen für uns daselbst auff unsere kosten anrichten, auch 3. Der Compagnie von jedem acker oder morgen jährlich Drey Viertel Schilling Englisch, hiesiges gelds fünftzehn kreutzer, Erbpacht (: welcher Zinsz am Ende des andern Jahres vom tage unserer ankunfft in Peñsivania das erste mahl gereicht werden soll :) erlegen. 4. Gegen solchen jährlich richtig eingeliEFFerten Erbpacht sollen und wollen wir, unsere Kinder und Kinds kinder, so lang unser Geschlecht, Mann und Weibs linien weren, auff besagten von uns erbauten gütern bleiben und unvertrieben seyn. 5. Dafern unser geschlecht über kurtz oder lang gar absterben solte, so soll dieses land samit dessen besserung der obgesagten Compagnie, als Erb-lehnherren, wieder vollkömlich heimfallen. 6. Weilen wir die vollige Mittel, uns selbst allda in stand zu setzen, nicht haben, sondern theils von vorbesagter Compagnie uns vorgeschossen werden, alsz versprechen wir deme absonderlich hierüber verfertigten Vergleich, unter Gottes hülffe, unver-

As will appear from these few entries there was little activity in the sale of the land purchased by the German Company. Most of the transfers of land were made by the Crefeld Purchasers. These transactions are recorded also in the *Grund-und Lager-Buch*.

The details of the holdings of the members of the German (or Frankfurt) Company, and the manner of distributing lots at a later time, are given by Pastorius in the beginning of the *Grund-und Lager-Buch*. The account is here printed in English translation:

"The whole Germantownship comprises according to the foregoing patent or land warrent 5700 acres. Of this 2675 acres belong to the members of the Company as a whole, as first purchasers, viz.,

To Jacobus van de Walle .....	535 acres
To Johań Jacob Schütz .....	428 acres
To Johań Wilhelm Ueberfeld .....	107 acres
To Daniel Behagel .....	356 acres
To Görg Strauss .....	179 acres
To Jan Laurens .....	535 acres
To Abraham Haesevoet .....	535 acres

---

2675 acres

brüchlich nachzukömen. Alles getreulich und sonder Gefährte: Dessen zur wahren Urkündt ist dieser Contract Drey Mahl originaliter auff pergament unter beiderseits Contrahenten unterschafft und pitschafft, mit Corroboration des hierzu erbetteten Notarij Caes. Publici ausgefertiget. Signatum Franckfurt den 31ten Martij Anno 1686.

Johań Jacob Schütz. ( )  
 Daniel Behagel ( )  
 Jacobus van de Walle ( )

Johannes und Arnold Cassell ( )  
 In fidem praemissorum attestire  
 ich Christian Fenda, Keyl. approbiert. und immatriculierter  
 offenbarer Notarius.

Gepassirt in Court of Record den 19ten tag des  
 8ten Monats 1697.

Peter Schumacher Justice.  
 Aret Klincken Justice.



**Sichere Nachricht auß America, wegen der Landschaft  
Pennsylvania / von einem dorthin gereisten Teutschen/  
de dato Philadelphia, den 7. Martii 1684.**

**M**iner schuldigen Obliegenheit so wol als auch meinem Abschiedlichen Versprechen ein Gemüthen zu leisten / sol ich etwas umständlicher aduiren, wie und was ich hiesiger Landen gesehnen und angemercket habe / und weilen mir nicht unrußend / daß durch ungleiche Relation ihrer viel hinter das Licht geführt wurden / verfühere ich zum vor auß / daß ich mit ohn artbeylicher Feder ohne verächtlichen Zusatz / beedes die Unge- mächlichkeiten der Reys und den Mangel hiesiger Provinz / als den von andern fast gar zu sehr gelobten Überfluß desselben getreulich anführen wolle: Dann ich verlange an man ein wenig den Ort mehr nicht / als zu wandeln in den Fußstapffen des jenigen / welcher ist der Ihm dem ewigen Leben vereinigt bleibe.

I. Ich wil also den Anfang machen von der Seefart, welche sicherlich so wol wegen der zu besuch- ten habender Schiffbrüche / gefährlich / als auch wegen der schlechten und harten Schiffkost, sehr beschwer- lich ist / daß ich auß eigener Erfahrung nun ziemlich verstehe was David im 107. Psalm sagt / daß man auß dem Meer nicht nur die Wunderwerck des Herrn / sondern auch den Geist des Ungeuiters ver- spüren und wahrnehmen könne. Dann meine Anheroreis belangend / bin ich mit 4. Knechten / 2. Wäg- den / 2. Kudern und 2. Jungen den 10. Jun. von Deal absegelt, hatten den ganzen Wes über mei- ste iswüdrigen und nicht 12. Stund aneinander favorablen Wind, viel Sturm- und Donnerwetter / auch zerbrach der vorderste Mast zu zweyen malen / so daß wir erst binnen 10. Wochen allhier arrivirte / jedoch sat erid, si sat bene. Massen es selten gechehet / daß einige viel zeitlicher anders kommen. Die Ere- felder welche den 6. Octobr. allhier angelangt / waren ebenfalls 10. Wochen auß der See / und das Schiff das mit dem unsern von Deal außgefahren war 14. Tag länger unterweg / auch starben einige Men- schen darauff. Gedachte Erefelder haben auch zwischen Rotterdam und Engelland eine erwachsene Tochter verloren / welcher Verlust jedoch zwischen Engelland und Pennsylvaniaen mit der Geburt zweyer Kinder ersetzt worden. Auß unserm Schiff hingegen ist niemand Todes verfahren / auch niemand gebo- ren. Fast alle Passagiere waren etliche Tag lang Seekrank / ich aber nicht über 4. Stund / herange- gen war ich andern Accidentien unterworfen / da mir nemlich die zwey außgehauene Löben über unserer Schiffstocher den Rücken eingeschlagen / und ich den 9. Jul. bey nächtlichen Sturm so ungeschlimm auß die lincke Seien gefallen / daß ich einige Tag über des Betts hüten mußte. Dieß beede Fäll erinne- ren mich nach / dlich des ersten auß alle ihre posteritäre durch / errungenen Falls unserer Urettern / wel- chen sie im Paradies / auch vieler der jenigen / die ich in die ein Jammerthal meines exilii begangen. Per varios casus, &c. allein seyeyst sey die Bitterhand adtlicher Varnberckigkeit / welche uns so die- maß wieder auffrichtet / und zurck hält / damit wir nicht änglich verfallen / in den Abgrund des Argen. Obra Weremüller selg / sichmäßig über auß hart / Thomas Gasper / schlug am Leib sehr auß / die Engli- sche Wogd hatte das Hochlauff / und Isaac Dibreck / der sonst dem außserlichen Ansehen nach der stärck- ste Tag am längsten darüber. Hatte ich also einen etlichen Schiff- Hospital / wiewol ich allein von den Teutschen meine Läger hält unter den Englischn genommen. Daß ein Bootsgesell unsinnig und un- ser Schiff durch widerpores aufschlagen eines Waisches zum Zittern bewegt worden / hab ich in meinem



schtern ausführlich gemeldet. Das Tractament auffm Schiff war gar schlecht / lebten medicē ac rō-  
dice. Je 10. Personen kriegen wochentlich 3. Pfund Butter / täglich 4. Kannen Bier und 2. Kannen  
Wasser, alle Mittag 2. Schüssel voll Erbsen / 4. Mittag in der Woche Fleisch und 3. Mittag Fisch / die  
wie mit unserer eigenen Butter zuzubereiten mussten / auch allzeit Mittags so viel auffbahren, daß wir unter  
Nachtreisen davon haben konnten. Das schlimmste von allen war, daß beedes das Fleisch und Fisch dermas-  
sen gesalzen und stinkend gewest, daß wies kaum halb mochten genießen. Und hätte ich mich nicht auff  
beirathen guter Freund / in Engelland / mit unterschiedlichen Verfechtungs-Mitteln versorget / dürfte  
es vermuthlich über abelauffen seyn. Ist derowegen von allen die hinfuro anhero zu reisen gewillt  
wohl zu beobachten, daß sie entweder, wo ihrer viel sind, ihre eigene Kost thun / oder so wol der Quantität  
als Qualität nach mit dem Schiffer Punct. bedingen / wieviel und welcherley sie täglich bekommen sol-  
ten; und denselben desto genauer darzu verbinden / muß man was wenigens von der Fracht allhier zu  
Philadelpiam abföhret, da man mir den andern / die in Upland ligen bleiben / noch mancherhand Ma-  
ssen unterworfen ist.

Meine Gesellschaft bestand auß vielerley Sort Leuten / da war ein D. Medicinæ mit seinem Weib  
und 8. Kindern / ein Franköser, Capitain / ein Niederdeutschler Küchenbeder / ein Apotheker, Glasblaser  
Maurer / Schmir / Wagner / Schreiner / Ktzer / Hutmacher / Schuster / Schneider / Gärtner / Bauern  
Madrianten /c. in allem etlich und 80. Personen / außser dem Schiffvold. Solche nun sind nicht nach  
ihrem Alter (massen unsere Älteste Frau 60. Jahr / das jüngste Kind aber nur 12. Wochen alt war) /  
und numer wegnen Handtberierung nach unterschieden, sondern auch so differenten Religionen und Ban-  
deis daß ich die Schiff, welche sie anhero tragen / nicht unflätlich mit der Arden Noth vergleichen sönte /  
wofern nicht mehr unreine als reine (verunflätige) Thier darinnen befindlich. Unter meinem Gemüde  
habe ich / die es mit der Römischen / mit der Lutherischen / mit der Calvinischen / mit der Wderräuf-  
erischen und mit der Englischen Kirche halten, und nur einen Quäcker. Den 11. Aug. wurffen wir das  
erste mal das Lot auß, und wurden gewahr, daß wir dick bey der grossen Sandbank / und also zuruck sol-  
te umbsegeln / gefolglich mehr dann 100. Meilen außser unserm Course lauffen mussten.

Den 16. dito bekamen wir Americam mit Freuden ins Gesicht / und gelangten den 18. Morgens  
in den Delawarre bay / welcher 30. Engl. Meilen lang und 17. breit / anbey von so ungleicher Tiefe ist /  
daß weilen unser Schiff 13. Fuß unterm Wasser gieng wir etlichmal auffm Sand sitzen blieben.

Den 20. führen wir Neu Castle Upland / und Dunicum vorbei / und arrivirten mit einbrechenden  
Abend Gott lob glücklich zu Philadelphis; da ich des folgenden Tags die mitabende Schreiben an  
W. Penn überlieferete und von ihm mit liebvoller Freundlichkeit empfangen wurde: von diesem sehr  
werthen Mann / und ruhmvürdigen Regenten / solte ich bittlich

11. Ein und anders überschreiben; allein / meine Feder / ( wievot sie von einem Adler / welchen  
neulich ein so genannter Wüder in mein Haus gebracht ) ist viel zu schwach / die hohe Tugenden dieses  
Christen, dann solches ist Er in der That / zu exprimiren. Er läßt mich zum öftern an seine Tafel bitten /  
auch in seiner jederzeit erbaulichen Gesellschaft aufzuwachen und reiten; und da ich letzts in 8. Tag von  
hier / umb Victualien von Neu Castle zu holen / auffen war / und Er mich solche Zeit über nicht gesehen /  
kam Er selbst in mein Häußgen / und begehrte / ich solle doch wochentlich ein paar mal bey ihm zu Gast  
kommen. Er hat die herzlich lieb / und sagte einst öffentlich in meiner Gegenwart zu sei-  
nen Räthen und Umstehenden: Die hab ich lieb / und wil / daß ihr sie auch lieben sollet;  
Wiewol ich übrigens niematen dergleichen Befelchswordt von ihm gehöret habe; diese aber mir so sehr  
mehr gefallen / weil sie mit den Gebot Gottes ( vid. 1. Job. 3 / 23. ) ganz gleichförmig sind. Ich kan an-  
jeto mehr nicht sagen / als daß Will. Penn / ein Mann sey / welcher Gott ehret / und von Ihme wieder ge-  
ehret wird: welcher das gute liebet / und von allen guten mit recht geliebet wird: 2c. Ich zweiffle nicht / es  
werden noch einige seibten anhero kommen / und im Werck erfahren / daß meine Feder hierin falls noch  
nicht genug geschrieben.

111. Von Beschaffenheit des Lands muß ich erst nach ein oder mehrjähriger praxi etwas gewisser  
berichten / die Schweden und Niederdeutsche, welche 20. Jahr und länger solches bebaut / sind in diesem  
Stück / wie in den meisten andern zweyjüngst / laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis. Gewis ins / daß dem  
Grund und Boden an Fruchtbarkeit nichts abgeht / und er so wol als in Europa die Müß unserer Hän-  
de belobnen würde / wann man denselben geduldrich bearbeiten und misen wolte. An welchen zweyen  
Stücken es ihm an meisten mangelt. Dann obgedachte alte Einwohner sind schlechte Deconomi / ha-  
ben theils weder Scheuren noch Ställe / lassen ihr Verdyd etliche Jahr lang unaußgedroschen /

frehem Himmel ligen / und ihr Vieh / Pferd / Küß / Schwein /z. Sommer und Winter im Busch laufen /  
 daher sie auch geringen Nutzen darvon schöpfen. Sicherlich / die Dornreiß / mit welcher Gott den  
 horiam Adams bestrafft / daß er im Schweiß seines Angesichts solle sein Brod essen / gehet auch dessen  
 Nachkommingschafft in diesen Landen an / und mögen diejenige / welche ihrer Hände zu schonen geden-  
 ken / verbleiben wo sie sind ; Hic opus , hic labor est , und ist nicht genug / Geld sonder Beneiztheit zu  
 wercken anher zu bringen / dann es verfiert sich unter den Händen / und mag ich wol mit Salomon sagen :  
 Es hat Fingel. Massen verwichenes Jahr sehr viel Leut beedes auß Engell- und Irreland / als auch Bar-  
 bados / und andern Americanischen Insuln hier ankoffen / und diese Provinz noch nicht satzsame Lebens-  
 mittel vor solche Menge hervorbringen / dahero alle Victualien ziemlich theuer / und gehet vor dieselbe meist  
 alle Mühs außserhalb Lands : Jedoch hoffen wir mit der Zeit an beederley einen mehrer Ueberfluß zu ha-  
 ben / weil B. Penn Geld schlagen / und der Ackerbau besser bestellet wird / z. Arbeitsleut und Bauern  
 sind erstlich allhier am nöthigsten / und wünsche ich mir wol ein Dußent starke Zwoiler / die diesen Ei-  
 sgenbaum nieder zu werffen / dann wohin man sich nur wendit / da heißt : Iter in antiquam sylvam ,  
 es ist alles nur ein Wald / und fast wenig leere Plätz zu finden / worinnfalls / wie auch in eistigen andern  
 Stücken / mich meine zuvor gefasste Hoffnung betrogen / als nemlich / daß in derakeiben wilden Baum-  
 garten gang keine Aepffel noch Birn anzureffen / auch diesen / wiewol sehr kalten Winter / kein Hirß / Sa-  
 licunen /z. zu bekommen gewesen. Die wilde Trauben sind gar klein / und beuener / Essig als Wein  
 darauß zu machen : die weißte Nöß haben überaus dicke Schalen / und wenig dicke Kerne inn / daß sie  
 deß mühsamen Aufschlages raum werth sind / die Kesten aber und Haiselnuß sind etwas geschmackt /  
 wie auch die Persing / Aepffel und Birn sehr gut / und nichts daran zu tadeln / ohne daß es derselben so viel  
 nicht giebt / als einige verlangen /z. Hingegen sind mehr Kätschlangen ( deren Stich tödtlich ) im Land /  
 als unslich ist /z. Noch diß wenig muß ich tanquam tellis oculus hierbeyfügen / daß den 16. Octob.  
 schöne ( Morgen ) Violet im Busch gefunden ; Item / nachdem ich den 24. Octob. die Stadt Germantown  
 angelangt / und den 25. dto / mit sieben andern zurück anhero gegangen / wir unterwegs einen an einem  
 Baum aufgestautenen wilden Weinstock angetroffen / woran bey 400. Trauben hingen ; weßhalb  
 wir dann den Baum umgebauen / uns alle 8. erkantigt / und jeder noch einen Hut voll mit sich nach  
 Haus getragen. Item / als ich den 27. Aug. mit B. Penn sechste wurde nach vollendeter Mahlzeit ein  
 emskete Gesellenwuchel dargebracht / welche allhier in einem Garten erwachsen / und 50. Malmen auff  
 sich hatte. Allein / alle Körner tragen eben nicht dermassen viel / und heißt wie man im Schwort sagt :  
 Eine Schwalm macht keinen Sommer. Ob ich zwar nicht zweiffe / es werden auch ins künftige mehr der-  
 gleichen fruchtbare Exempel zu handen stossen / wann wir diese ernstlich an den Pflug legen werden. Ich  
 behauere die Weineben / so ich mit bekommen / weilen dieselbe / da wir allschon im Delaware bay waren /  
 mit Schwasser befeuchtet worden / und bis auf 2. verdorben. Dfferwehnter B. Penn hat einen Wein-  
 berg von Frankof. Neben angepflanz / derer Wachsthum mit Lust anzuschauen und mir / als ich sie sah /  
 das 15. Cap. Johannis zu nachsinnlichen Gemüts führte.

IV. Philadelphia nimt täglich an Häusern und Einwohnern mehr und mehr zu / und wird nun auch  
 ein Zuchtort gebaut / damit diejenige / so nicht Philadelphiaisch leben wollen / disziplinirt werden mögen /  
 dann es finden sich etliche / auff die sich flüchtig schickt / was der liebe Freund in seinem  
 Handbrieffgen meldet / daß wir nemlich allhier mehr Noth von den verdorbenen Christen / als von den  
 Indianern haben. Ferner werden auch hier und dar Stadt angelegt ; massen die Societät eine mit  
 Damen Frankfurt und anderthalb Stund von hiesiger beginnt zu bauen / woselbst sie eine Mühle und  
 Glasmacherey anrichtet. Unfern darvon / nemlich 2. Stund von allhier / ligt unser Germantown / all-  
 wo bereits 42. Menschen in 12. Haushaltungen leben / welche meistens Teinweber / und zum  
 Zeitbau nicht allzugeshickt sind. Diese redliche Leute haben all ihr Vermögen auff die Reis angewen-  
 det / daß wosern ihnen von B. Penn nicht Proviant vorgestreckt würde / sie nothwendig andern dienen  
 müßten. Den Weg nach besagten Germantown haben sie durch oftmaliges Hin und Her wandern / all-  
 schon tapffer gebahrt / und kan ich von solcher Stadt mehr noch nicht sagen / dann daß sie auff schwark-  
 traagbarer Erden ligen / und die bestte umb und umb mit amuthigen Brunnquellen als einem natürlichen  
 Wall befestigt se. Die Hauptgasse darinn ist 60. und die Zwerggasse 40. Fuß breit / jede Familie hat  
 eine Hoffart von 3. Acken /z.

V. Die Einwohner belagend / kan ich solche nicht besser abtheilen / als in die Natürliche und Ein-  
 gepflanzte ; Dann so ich jene wild / und diese Christen nennet / thät ich vielen von beeden groß nrrecher.  
 Von den letztern hab ich schon oben erwöhnt / daß die anersfahrende Schiff nicht allerdings mit der Arthen  
 No. 3

Noch zu compariren; Der lutherische Prediger / welcher den Schweden als eine Statua Mercurialis den Weg zum Himmel zeigen sollt / mit einem Wort zu sagen ein Trunkenbold. Ingleichen: geht es falsche Mäntler und andere laufferhafte Personen außier / welche jedoch verhoffeentlich der Wind abtrotzen / Nach wie Spreu wegwehen wird zu seiner Zeit; an frommen Gottesfürchtigen Leuten ist im Gegentheil auch kein Mangel und kan ich mit Grund der Wahrheit versichern das ich in Europa nirgendswo gleich als in unserm Philadelphia angelandlagen gesehen: Dis und das hat der gefunden / der Verleerer mag sich bey ihm anmelden / oftmals aber das Widerspiel: Dis und das ist verlohren worden / wer es wieder bringt soll eine Vergeltung haben &c.

Von diesen erst einacser vorfften Fremdbdingen will ich vor arjeko nicht gedencken / als das unter solchen erliche Hocherliche reucontrirt die bereits 20. Jahr dis Land bewohner / und sich also gleichsam naturalisirt nemlich Schöner Brandenburger / Housierer / Schweyker &c. auch einen Mührberger / Namens Jan Jaquet / sondern von denen per errorem so genannten Wilden meine Nachsicht durchgick ersehen. Die ersten die mir vor Augen kommen / waren die jenigen zwey / so bey Upland auf einem Saam an unser Schiff anfahren ich verlehnte ihnen ein Sopje Brand erwein / welches sie mir mit einem halben Korffstück bezahlen wollten und da ich selch Geld restituirte gaben sie mir die Hand und sprachen: Dank Bruder! Sie sind stark von Guedern / schwärzlich vom Leib / und färben ihr Gesicht roth / blau &c. auff mancherley Manner. Gehen des Sommers gangt nackt / außer das sie ihre Schaam mit einem Tuch bedecken und nun im Winter die Hüffels über sich henden. Haben tollschwarze die Schwedische Kinder aber so allhier geböhren / schneeweiße Haar. Ich sprach erstlich bey W. Penn / da einer von ihren Königen mir an der Tafel saß / dieien nun sagte W. Penn (welcher ihre Sprach ziemlich prompt reden kan) das ich ein Teuflicher. Tam er also den 1. Octobr. wie auch den 12. Decembr. ein anderer König und Königin in mein Haus. Item überlauffen mich viel Gemeine sehr oft denen ich doch fast allzeit meine Lieb mit einem Stük Brot und Trunk Bier erweise wordt / und dann eine Gegen Lieb in ihnen erweckt wird und nemlich durchgehends Teutschmann / item Carissimo (das ist Bruder) nennen. N. B. Ihre Sprach ist männlich und aber meines Darvorhaltens der Italiänischen an Gravität wenig nach / &c. Ihre Art und Natur betröckend / muß man sie so zu reden subdiltigiren in die / welche eine Zeitlang mit den so genannten Christen conversirt / und die / so erst anfangen aus ihren Hölen hervor zu tretten. Dann jene sind verschmitzt und arglistig / welches sie den obmentionirten Maul-Christen zu danken: semper enim abiqui haeret. Solch einer nun versetzte mir neulich seinen Tragiemen zum Unterpfaund / und zur Versicherung das er mir einen Galliumen brinnen wolte brachte jedoch an dessen Statt einen Adler und wolte mich bereuen / es sey ein Gallium / &c. Da ich ihm aber vorstellte / das ich mehr Adler gesehen bekannte er gegen einen darbey stehenden Schweden / das er es aus Verzug gethan / in Meinung wein wir erst im Land kommen ich solch Vögel so genau nicht kennen wolte. Ein ander probirte an meinem Saam den Brand erwein abo: Er steckte seinen Finger darein / und diesen hernach ins Feuer umb zu leben / ob auch Wasser untermanat were / &c. &c. Diese letztere hingegen sind eines rechtlichen Gemüths / beleidigen niemand / und haben wir uns vor ihnen ganz nicht zu fürchten. Ein Ding sie mir sehrhintrieß zu Herzen da ich die treugetreute Vermahnung unsers Seligmachers erregte das wir seine Jünger nicht vor den mordenden Fas sorgen solten / weil solches die Heyden thun. Ach gedachte ich bey mir selbstlich / wie stumm alles so gar verkehrt! Wann wir Christen nicht probantirt und auff ein und mehr Monat wie kleinmützig werden wir? Da diese Heyden ihre Versorgung in einer so wundereramen Gelassenheit GOTT heimsteltten: Ich sahe eben damals ihrer Diere zusammen freien / die Erde war zugleich ihre Tafel und Band / ein ohne Butter und Gewürz in bloßem Wasser getochter Krebs alle Gerichte / ihre Köffel waren Muscheln / darmit sie das warme Wasser auß / werten / und ihre Teller Eiden-Blätter / die sie nach der Maßzeit nicht nöthig haben abzuwischen noch abzuschleiffen / sie sich weit darnach zu bemühen. Ach liebwertige Freund / laßet uns von diesen Leuten die Vergnüßlichkeit zu lernen seinen Scheit tragen / damit sie uns nicht dermaleinst vor dem Richter Ernst Jesu Christi beschämen mögen / &c. &c.

Von denen Personen die mit mir anber kommen / sind allschon ein halb Duzend gestorben / ich aber habe mich samt den Weiben die ganze Zeit über bey gesundem Zustand und gutem Appetit befunden ohne das Haas Diltret acht Tage her etwas unyßlich / auch Jacob Schumacher sich den 1. Octobr. mit einer Art Schweißlich in den Fuß gebauen und eine Woche lang nicht arbeiten konte. &c. Von den Erseidern ist noch niemand tot es verfahren / als Hermans op de Graef abgestorb / unter welche dieser weltlichen Einleuten fast / bald nach ihrer Anberkunft hingezogen / die Freuden des Himmels zu genießen.

n essen. Abraham Tunesen ( unfers Pachemanns ) Frau ligt bereits länger als drey Monat in mein Hausen sehr schwach darnieder / war eine geraume Zeit gang ohne Verstand / läßt sich aber von Tag und Tag mit derselben zur Besserung an.

Das ertaußte Land nun betreffend: wird solches in dreyerley Art abgetheilt / nemlich / Erstlich fünffzehnen tausend Acker beyammen an einem Strich und an einem schiffreichen Wasser. Zwerrens / drehshundert Acker in der Stadt Libertät / welches der Strich Lands ist zwischen dem Delaware und Scottkill. Drittens / drey Loß in der Stadt: Häuser darauf zu bauen. Als ich nun nach meiner Anfertigung bey W. Penn umß Warrants / jetztgedachte dreyerley Theil abzumessen, and in Possession zu kriegen, anhielt, war seine erstere Antwort / daß anlangend:

1. Die drey Loß in der Stadt / und die drehshundert Acker in dero Freiheit / solche von Rechts wegen denen nicht zu Ammen, weilen sie gekauft / nachdem Er W. Penn allsichen von England abgereist / und die Bücher zu London geschlossen wären / 2. Nachdem ich ihm aber repraxentirt / daß ihr die Vorgänger von allen Teuffchen, und dabero in mehrere Consideration zu sehen, 3. Dar Er mir zu Anfang der Stadt drey Loß hintereinander von seiner jüngern Sohns Antheil abmessen lassen.

cc. 12. 11. 10. 9. 8. 7. 6. 5. 4. 3. 2. 1.

Der doppelstrich bedeutet den Delaware Fluß / als an welchem die Stadt gelegen ist / die Zahlen aber folgende Häuser und Bauernhöff: 1. Schwed Schwan. 2. Die lutherische Kirch. 3. Des Pfarrers Haus. 4. Ein Engl. Mann. 5. Schwed Andres. 6. Will. Penns junastier Sohn. 7. Die 8. Philip fort. 9. Die Societät und dero Kauffhaus. 10. Das Wirtshaus zum blauen Anker. 11. James Stanpoole. 12. 2r. Sind andre Häuser / deren Benamung hier unmerklich / lag also voran die Delaware / dann es ist eine breite Straß / worauff unser erstes Loß folgt / hundert Fuß breit und vierhundert lang, zu End dessen kommt eine Gasse / dann unser zweytes Loß / auch von gleichmässiger Breite und Länge. Ferner eine andere Gasse / und endlich unser drittes Loß. Können demnach auff jedes Loß voran zwey / und hinten an auch zwey Häuser neben einander / gefolglich auff die drey Loß zwölff Häuser mit ihren behörlichen Hoffstätten flächlichen gebauet werden / welche doch alle auff die Straffen ausgehen, 2c. Nothwendig aber müssen wir innerhalb zweyen Jahren / wofern anders solche Loß nicht wollen verlieren / drey Häuser / das ist / auff jedes Loß ein Haus / zimmern. Ich habe auff das Vordere mit unserm Knecht allsichen ein kleines / halb unter / und halb oberhalb der Erde auffgerichtet / welches zwar nur dreißig Schuh lang und funffzehn breit / jed och als die Erstedter hier bey mir loairten / zwanzig Personen beherbergen kunte. An das Delgeträndte Papier / Fenster über der Thür habe ich geschrieben: Parva domus, sed amica bonis, procul este prophanis! Welches W. Penn sehr schön gelesen / und sich gefallen lassen. Über dis hab ich einen Keller / sieben Schuhe tief / zwölff breit / und zwanzig lang / am Delaware / Strom gearaben / und bin nun mit einem Stall / Bau thutent. Alle drey Loß sind von den Zimmern gebauet / die ich nächst hin umbhauen / und mit Judaischem Korn besäen werde. N. N. Es ist überaus beschwerlich und kostbar / alles Land zu umbhauen / welches wir doch wegen der freysauffenden Pferde / Küß und Schreime nicht können einbriaget bleiben: Auch kan man das erste Jahr in solch neu Land keinen Rog oder Weizen anpflanzen / sondern nur Judaisch ( oder wie es bey euch genemmet wird / Türkisch ) Korn / so jedoch nicht so wohl schmecket noch erfrigt.

11. Anlangend die drehshundert Acker in der Stadt Freiheit / hab ich bey W. Penn viel fähige Anhang darum gemacht / sonderlich zur Art / daß W. Fürtz im Vertrauf solche verprochen, 2c. Er aber wolte sich lang nicht dazu verstehen / aus Ursach / weilen zur Stadt Libertät nicht mehr außgesetzt worden / als sich noch bey seinem Anwesen in England Käuffere von fünf tausend emgenunden / worunter die moriat Libertette / Er mir die erste liche Antwort gab / daß Er aus sonderlicher Geneigenheit zu Ende / mir solthane drey hundert Acker noch zukommen lassen wolte / sonst aber teuffchem Menschen mehr / der nach Abschließung der Bücher gekauft habe / er sey auch / wer er sey. Bin

bin ich also Vorhabens/so bald allhier das Indianische Korn in die Erde/ einen Anfang auff diesen 100. Acker / die über eine halbe Stund nicht von hiesiger Stadt entfernt seyn werden ) zu machen / damit Küß und Schwein besser halten/auch so desto mehr Frucht erbauen / und denen Nachfolgenden darmit an hand geben möge.

3. Anlangend die funffzehntausend Acker/erlaneten sich zwey Haupt-difficultäten/ nemlich/ daß W. Penn sie nicht gern besam an einem Stück geben wolte / auff das nicht so gar große Plätz im Land öd und leer sitzen blieben / auch nicht am Delaware Fluß/ woselbst schon alles von andern auffge- nommen worden. Jedemoch/nachdem ich ihme zum öfttern so wol münd- als schriftlich vergeblicher/das es uns und unserer teutschen Nachkömmlingschafft sehr pr- judicialisch / so gar unter die Englische eingestekt zu werden/zumalen W. Fürst denen Sein W. Penns Handbriefgen communicirt/ in welchem Er unserer Nation ein anders versprochen/zc. hat Er mir letztlich einen Warrant ertheilt/ un- ser Land besamnen zu haben/wofern wir binnen Jahres Frist dreißig Familien auff die funffzehntaus- send Acker stellen wolten/nemlich drey Townships/jede von zehen-Haushaltungen/ worzu die drey die be- reits hier sind/zu rechnen/( Im fall aber nicht dreißig Familien /reit Er nicht gehalten seyn/das Land an einem Stück zu geben. ) Ich meines wenigen Orts wolte wolwünschen / daß wir eine separate kleine Provinz erhalten/und uns also von aller Untertruckung/so desto mehr versehen möchten. Könte nun von euch einer in sich selbst frey werden / und außero zu kommen/so viel Familien mitzubringen/werde euch eigen bestes unvorteilichlich sehr dadurch befördert/gestaltam Er W. Penn. erst ebegeßtern zu mir saget/ daß Er euch in diesem Fall vor allen Englischen/ die zwar ebeider gekauft/ aber noch nicht hier sind / vor- ziehen/und gewisse Privilegia in unserm Neuen Franckenland ( so nannte Er die uns bestimte Land- schafft ) ertheilen wolte. Fällt es euch aber zu hart/so viel Familien in so kurzer Zeit zu transportiren/ wäre meines unmaßseligen darvorhaltens gut/das die Freund von ein paar tausend Acker/ von euch annehmen / und etlichen-Haushaltungen von ihren gelegneten Ueberfluß anber bliffen/damit ja die funffzehntausend Acker ungetrennt/und sonder zwischen fallende Englische Nachbarn uns zu- kommen mögen: zumalen Er sie nicht allzuferr von hiesiger Stadt geben wil/nemlich / an dem Eggs- hill/oberhalb des Falls/woselbst Er selbst ein Haus zu bauen / und eine kleine Herrschafftlicher vor sich anzuordnen gedenket. Das Land nächst dem Fluß ist ziemlich bergicht / und zum Weinbau nicht erwe- quem / eumwärts aber eben und fruchtbar/das schimmliche ist/ daß man mit keinem Schiff / ( außer wann es viel gereget / und gleichwol nicht ohne Gefahr ) über den Fall und Steinflüssen abfahren kan/zc. Dieweil ich nun nicht wissen kunte / was ihr disfalls zu thun entriht/essen möchte / und doch hieran sehr viel gelegen / auch über diese offerwehnte funffzehntausend Acker/bey 28. Pfund Stiel. nemlich jede hundert Acker 5. Schill. hiesiger Landbezahlung abzumessen kosten / welches Geld ich aber nicht in Händen/muß ich es bis auff erhaltene eure Resolution anstehen lassen/um die Eschranken eines getreue- en Bevollmächtigten nicht zu überschreiten. Damit ich aber die arrivirte drey Familien auff ihre sechs- hundert Acker anweisen möchte. hab ich nebenst den Ersehtern ( welche achtzehntausend gekauft/und all hier sehende / nicht an einem Stück erlangen können ) sechstausend Acker zu einer Township auffge- nommen/woran sie drey tausend / und wir dreytausend haben. Diese Stadt legte ich den 24. Decob- an / und nennete sie Germantown : Sie ligt nur 2. Ubr sebens von hier / auff fruchtbarern Boden / und an anmuthigen Brunnquellen / worvon ich oben gemeldet. Dieses musse ich darumb thun / weiln W. Penn niemanden seine Portion absonderlich geben wil / sondern müssen alle in Townships oder Städten besamnen wohnen/und dieses nicht sonder erhebliche Ursachen / worunter die vornehmste/ daß auff solche weis die Kinder zur Schulen gehalten/und recht schlicher zum guten unterwiesen / Nachbarn auch ein- ander lieb-und hilffreiche Hand bieten / und mit gesammten Mund in öffentlichen Zusammenkunfts Gottes Güte loben/preisen und erheben können. NB. Müßt ihr deroregen den Familien / die ihr ins künfftig anhero überbringt / wol nur hundert Acker zuerzigen / und dannoch fast eben so viel Erbpacht nehuwen/zc.

Meine Haushaltung betreffend / wolte ich solche gern auff gut hochteusch einrichten / worzu mir Jacob Schuemaker und der alte Schweizer sehr dienlich / hingegen schickten sich die mit mir habende Holländer schlecht darzu / sonderlich die Magd / welche sich mit der Englischen nicht componiren konn- daß ich Fried zu erhalten / diese aussittren werde/weilen jene mit ihren 2. Kindern nicht so leicht fortbrin- gen / oder an einen andern Mann bringen kan. Ich verlange sehr / so bald möglich eine Docteurische Hand/berer ich mehr vertrauen könne/als ich leider! nun nicht thun darf. Wollt ihr nun/ daß Euch eure Hoffnung nicht betrüge / so schick lauter Teutsche / dann die Holländer ( wie mich die berribis

besten Erfahrung lehrt) sind nicht so bergnützlich / welches doch in diesem neuen Landen eine hochnützhige Qualität. 2c. Ich habe keinen Zimmermann unter meinen Kachten / müssen derohalben ein paar zu Erbauung der Häuser anher geschandt werden / und kan in dem mit ihnen aufschreibenden Contract zur Nachricht dienen / daß ansehnlich Tagelohn sehr verringert / und sie über die Kost täglich mehr nicht / als . . . Kopfstück empfangen / wiewol die meiste darumb nicht arbeiten / und lieber das Land verlassen wolten. NB. Allen Handwerkern ist ein gewisser Preis gesetzt / auch muß an den Kaufmanns-waaren nur die Hälfte gewonnen werden: Ob zwar vermuthlich mit diesen noch in 3. oder 4. Jahren wenig Profit zu machen / wie die Societät sattsam gewahr wird; Dann 1. bringt jeder Neukommung so viel von Kleibern und Geräthschaft mit sich / daß Er einige Jahr nichts bedarff. 2. Ist allhier sehr wenig Geld / wiewol die Begehrde darnach bey vielen so desto größer; Den 16. Novemb. war Jahrmarkt in unserm Philadelphia / da ich aber kaum ein paar Pfund Eier. löfete. 3. Kan man aus diesem Land noch keine Retour-Güter nach England aufschicken. 2c. W. Penn intendirt zwar hauptsächlich die Weberey und den Weinwachs zu etabliren; Schicket uns derohalben mit sicherer Gelegenheit gute Weinreben / weil an dero Fortkommung nicht zu zweiffeln. Item allerhand Feld- und Garten-Saamen / sonderlich Eisen und Eisen. 2c. auch NB. etliche große eiserne Kochhaken / und miteinander stehende Kessel; Item / einen eisernen Ofen; welchen der Winter allhier meistens so kalt als bey euch / und die rauhen Nordwind viel ungeschlimmer. Item / etliche Bettdecken / oder Maderaken / massen ich nicht mehr mit mir genommen / als ich eben vornöthig hatte / und allschon einen Knecht mehr bekommen. Wolt ihr endlich auch einige Schick-Barchet / und Dsffabrik. feinen Tusch anhero senden / kan es mit gutem Vortheil verkauft werden. 2c.

Ein Lobgerber kan sein Handwerk mit großem Nutzen anfangen / massen wir hier und in den nächstliegenden Landen Haut genug bekommen können / und zwar zwey rohe vor eine zubereitete / auch die allerbeste vor ein paar Schuhe. allein müßte ein gewis Capital dazü employirt werden; da dann sicherlich solcher ausgebreute Geldsame in kurzer Zeit eine reiche Ernde vertragen würde / so zu Euerm reifern Nachdenken heimstelle. Die zwey nöthigste Schick sind / 1. auf die Jochen in hiesiger Stadt bealtes me Häuser zu bauen / welche theuer verheuert / und jährlich 12. pro 100. können gewonnen werden. 2. eine Begehrbrenneren anzulegen / worzu uns W. Penn einen thätigen Platz zu aben verbrochen / dann so lang wir keine Stein haben / ist unser Baukunst nur hölkern. Andere Handwerkerkleut mögen noch wol etliche Jahr zurnck bleiben / 2c. 2c.

Auff die 4. Fragen geb ich diese compendiose Antwort: 1. W. Penn hat einen guten Grund zu einer rechtfertigen Regierung gelegt / und publicirt von Zeit zu Zeit nützliche Besärg. 2. Hält er nachdrückliche Freundschaft mit allen anerkennenden Gouverneur / hofft auch / die mit Waldimor obsehende Streitigkeit solle ehstens durch eine Königl. Sentenz abgethan und aufgehoben werden. 3. Wird gedachter W. Penn von allem Volk sehr geliebt und gelobt / gestaltsam auch die alten lutherischen Einwohner betheuren müssen / daß sie dergleichen weisen Regenten noch niemals gesehen haben. Ach was nachdrückliche und durchdringende Seufftzer sandte dieser liebe Mann den ersten Tag dieses wieder angetretenen Neuen Jahrs in die H. Höhe und zu dem Thron unsers Immanuelis / daß die wahre Philadelphia und Bruder-Liebe noch nicht so reichlich in diesem unsern Philadelphia anzutreffen / als Er seines Ortswunschet / und umb deren Beförderung als ein getreuer Landes-Vatter treuwerthe bemühet ist. 4. Die Indianer (von deren Natur im vorhergehenden etwas weniges angeführt) vermehren allhier täglich sieben etliche 100. Meil weiter in das Land ein / 2c.

Wem möchtet ihr vielleicht fragen / ob ich mit reiner unverscherter Conscience einem und andern auf euch rathen könnte / sich anher zu transportiren? Ich antworthe mit gutem Verbedacht / daß ich zwar eurer Leib. Begehrde von Herzen gern wolte theilhaftig seyn; Jedoch / daren ihr 1. nicht Verbedacht eures Gewissens euch selbst befinde / 2. Euch zu den Beschwer- und Gefährlichkeiten der langweiligen Reis / und 3. zu Ermanglung der meisten in Teuschland gewohnten Gemüthslichkeiten als feinem Hüts / niedlichen Kost und Trank 2c. ein oder zwey Jahr resolviren könnet / so soltet meinem Rath und dabei noch eine Zeitslang wo ihr seyd / fallen euch aber sehr gedachte Punten nicht zu hart / so gedet sechenderse lieber / auß dem Europ. lischen Sodom auß / und gedet darben an Iohis Weib welche war mit den Füssen fortzuzug / ihr Herz und Zuneigung herentgegen darinnen stieß. Ach / lieberthe Freund / ich möchte wolwünschen / daß ich mit dieser Adlers-Feder / die zu euch tragende Lieb außdrücken könnte / und in der That bezeugen / daß es nicht eine bloße Lippen-Liebe / sondern die Euch mehr aures nimet / als mir selbst. Mein Herz ist durch das Band der Liebe an das Eure getnüpffet / So laßt uns nun zusammen

sammen wachsen/als Bäume/welche die rechte Hand Gottes an Wasserbächen gepflanzt hat/damit sie nicht nur Blätter/sondern Frücht bringen/ zur rechten Zeit: Früchte der Güt/ Früchte der Friedens/ Früchte der Gerechtigkeit! Dann was hülffs einen solchen unnützen Baum/ obchon der Gärtner seiner noch etliche Jahr verschonet/denselben mit allem Fleiß umbgräbt/und bearbeitet/ doch endlich auf nicht erfolgende Besserung aufhauet/ und in Ofen wirfft. Vergebt mir diese Gleichniß/ liebwertbe Freund; wir geben allhier täglich mit der gleichen unfruchtbaren Bäumen/umb/ hacken sie nieder/ und drauchen sie vor Brennholz. Es ist in nstens eine gutberühigte Warnung/ die nicht schaden kan. Ich befehle euch samptlich göttlicher influenz, ohne welche uniere Fruchtarbeit unvollkommen; Der Herr/ der das Wollen gegeben hat/ gebe auch das Vollbringen! Amen.

Hierbey sende ich ein Muster der allhier gebräuchlichen Indianischen Milng/d a 6. von den weissen/ und 1. von den schwarzen einen Englischen Farbung machen; und wollen nun gedachte Indianer nichts mehr vor Silbergeld verkauffen/sondern einig und allein mit ihrer Milng bezahlt seyn/ weilten sie meistens hiesige Land quittiren/und etlich hundert Mei. weiter Buschwarts einziehen wollen; Das sie stehen in einem solchen Aberglauben/das eben so viel Indianer jährlich sie. be. müssen/ als viel/ nemlich Europæer außero kommen/ze.

Dieses nun hab ich zu notth. iren/ meiner obliegenden Schuldigkeit zu seyn ermessen/ als der ich die meiste Sorgtraag/gerreu erfunden zu werden/ dessen mir so wol W. Penn/ und andere redliche Leute als mein eigen Bewisen/welches ich mehr/als tausenden gleich schätze/ ein irrepochable Zeugn. geben kan/das es mir ziemlich schwer falle/ in dieiem kostbaren (außer Kost-leeren) Land so viel Kuecht und Ehehalten zu verioraen/ könnit ihr leichtram erachten; Allein das Vertrauen zu unserm himmlischen Vatter überwindet alles. Grüßet alle andere Betandten von mir herzlich.

Ich verbleibe allezeit euer treu/ und dienstbeständ  
digster

A. A.





And further, 2675 acres belong to the first Crefeld Purchasers, viz.,

To Jacob Tellner .....	989 acres
To Jan Strepers .....	275 acres
To Dirck Sipmañ .....	588 acres
To Govert Remkins .....	161 acres
To Lenert Arets .....	501 acres
To Jacob Isaacs .....	161 acres
	2675 acres

Further, 200 acres belong to Frantz Daniel Pastorius.

And finally 150 acres to Görg Hartzfelder.

In all 5700 acres.

Of the above mentioned 5700 acres of land, there are

In Germantown .....	2750 acres
In Krissheim .....	884 acres
In Sommerhausen .....	900 acres
In Crefeld .....	1166 acres

Then, after the 2750 acres or 55 city hereditary holdings in Germantown had been laid out and surveyed on the 29th of December, 1687, and following days, the purchasers and hereditary lessees, to whom the remaining 2950 acres in the Germantownship belong, distributed the same by lot on the 4th of April, 1689, into the said three separate villages, the northernmost of which, adjoining Germantown, was called Krissheim, the middle one Sommerhausen, and the furthestmost Crefeld, as sufficiently appears from what is subjoined below:

To-day, the 4th day of the second month, anno 1689, those who still have land to take up in the Germantownship have drawn lots for the remaining 2950 acres and Peter Keurlis, Jan Lücken for his half, Abraham Tunnes, Gerhard Heinrichs, Peter Schumacher, Hanns Peter Umstatt, Heinrich Sellen, Willjam Strepers for 100 acres, Johannes Bleickers, Jacob Schumacher for 50 acres, Jacob Tellner, Kornelis Sjoert, Andrew Griskum, and Abraham op de Graeff for 25 acres, have received the first next portion to Germantown as their lots and respective shares. Secondly, the Frankfurt Company has obtained by lot in addition to what it received in the furthest division, together with Frantz Daniel Pastorius for his own 200 acres the middle portion. Thirdly, Tunes Kunders, Govert

---

NB.—An interesting point in this document is the fact that the German Company (or Frankfurt Company) is called by those in Frankfurt the "Pennsylvanian Company" ("Pennsilvanische Compagnie").



Remkins, Lenert Arets, Reinert Tisen, Jan Lucken for his second half, Cornelis Bom, Jan Strepers, Dirk op de Graeff, Herman op de Graeff, Abraham op de Graeff for his remainder, Jacob Isaacs, the Frankfurt Company for 287½ acres, Jacob Schumacher for 25 acres and Willjam Strepers for 50 acres received by lot the last or furthest portion. That the foregoing drawing of lots took place openly and honestly, without deception or fraud, in the aforementioned manner, we, the undersigned bear witness, with this subscription in our own hand. Done in Germantown the 4th of the 2nd month, 1689.

Frantz Daniel Pastorius for himself and the Frankfurt Company. Jacob Telner. Cornelis\*Sioerts. Jacob Schumacher. Abraham op de Graeff. Hanns Peter Umbstatt. Hendrich Sellen. Herman op den Graaf. Jacob Isaacs.

Anno 1690, the 14th of the 11th month (January) the lines or boundaries were made through the said villages as is indicated in the preface of this book."

#### *The Reorganization of the German Company.*

The agreement or promise of the German Company or Society to follow Pastorius, their agent, to America was not kept. and Pastorius evidently began to feel uneasy about the financial obligations which he had assumed as agent of the Society. There is an intimation of this uneasiness, or of his unwillingness to decide upon questions of policy in his report of March 7th, 1684. Accordngly, he wrote a letter on the 14th of November, 1685, to Schütz, van de Walle, Behagel and Petersen, asking to be released from the responsibility of accounting to their constituents and heirs. Although the original letter seems to have been lost, we have the content of it and the replies to it preserved in English, a manuscript in Pastorius' own hand, which we give here:

"The 14th day of November 1685 J did write to Jacob van de Wallen, John Jacob Schutz, Daniel Behagel & Wm Petersen, that in case they would not free me of my Promise in their Letter of Attorney, viz, to be accountable to the Constituents & their heirs, J was not at all able nor willing so to do, but must lay down mine Administration; for as much as they in like manner promised me, to follow me to this Province the next ensuing year after my departure out of Germany, the which was not perform'd by them:

Wherefore J expect an Answer from them all, whether they would release unto me the sd mine Obligation or not?

Whereupon they in One Letter Subscribed by them all answered as followeth.

Francfort the 20/30. of June 1686.

Dear Brother — We thank God for thy Joyful Recovery and Preservation of all the rest; Putting in so much no Mistrust at all in thy Fidelity & Diligence, that we, especially J for mine own person do approve thine accounts unseen: Nevertheless in case Jt is not against thee, only for a nearer Advice sake to send such accounts over (: at least to make no ill Precedent to any future Successor, whom perhaps we dare not so fully trust without all Care: ) Jt will be very pleasing to & not against us to approve them in optima forma.

J. J. Schutz.

In the same Letter it followeth thus:

My heartily beloved Friend & Dear Brother. To all that which our beloved Schutz hath written we assent in all parts without any exception, and our beloved Behagel will doubtless do the same by some lines; And J do the same likewise in the name of John William Petersen & his wife.

Ja: v: Wallen.

Further in the same Letter thus:

My dear & beloved Friend. How greatly we longed for your Letter, you may easily think, because since your former from ultimo May & 18th of June we had nothing written by you but the aforementioned from the 14th of Novemb. which we received the 19th of June, and is fully answered by Friend Schutz, whereby you may see, that we do not only approve of what you have done, but request you to Continue and not faint, or let sink the Courage to the hurt of us all and of the whole business.

Daniel Behagel.”

The result of this correspondence was the formal organization or reorganization of the German Company or Society, referred to by Pastorius in the *Grund- und Lager-Buch* as the Frankfort Company. The instrument, agreement or contract of this new corporation was printed in German in Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Three copies of it are known to have been in existence in Philadelphia: one originally among Penn's papers, but now in possession of Ex-Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, at Pennypacker's Mills; the other at the Historical Society of Pennsylv-

nia, and the third, evidently Pastorius' own copy, as it is the only one having his signature, originally found among the Proud papers. In addition to the printed German text there is extant an English translation in Pastorius' hand among the Pastorius MSS. in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.<sup>24</sup>

The reorganization of the German Company seems to have had little effect upon the affairs of the company in Pennsylvania, if we may judge from the entries in the *Grund-und Lager-Buch*, which doubtless is a faithful record of the transactions of the company under the direction of Pastorius, who against his will continued as agent of the company after the reorganization until the year 1700.

*Release of Pastorius as Agent of the German Society.*

Meanwhile, a number of the original members of the company had died, and some of the survivors, apparently dissatisfied with the state of their affairs in Pennsylvania, concluded to relieve Pastorius of the agency, and agreed to issue a letter of attorney to Daniel Falkner, Johannes Kelpius, both in Pennsylvania, and Johannes Jawert, son of Balthasar Jawert, of Lübeck, one of the principals of the company.

The reasons for this Letter of Attorney are quite fully set forth in the document itself in the following passage in Pastorius' translation:

"And yet, because of the death of some heads of the sd Company, & the between Jrruption of the French War, as also chiefly because of the absence of the Governour, & the unableness of the sd Our Factor, these Our affairs in the sd Province are come to a Stop, the more mentioned Mr. Pastorius having also desired by & in several of his Letters to be discharged of his Administration &c."

There were apparently other reasons for this transfer of the agency of the company to these new hands. First, because of the interest which Jawert had in the company, and the fact that

---

<sup>24</sup> The original, dated Nov. 12, 1868, will be reproduced photographically.

he himself was emigrating to America and could look after affairs; secondly, because Falkner was on friendly relations with some of the company, as appears from the fact that he is mentioned in the deed of gift of Catharine Elizabeth Schütz as one of the beneficiaries. Just what reason there was for appointing Kelpius, the dreamy hermit of the Wissahickon, is not apparent, unless it was because of the religious sympathy existing between him and Johann Wilhelm Petersen.

The reference in the document to the inability ("unable-ness") of Pastorius to continue as agent, and the fact that the affairs of the company had "come to a Stop" is not necessarily to be construed as indicating any incapacity or laxness on the part of Pastorius, but is easily explained by the fact that during the years 1698 to 1700 or 1701 he was engaged in teaching school in Philadelphia, and for this reason could not give his undivided attention to the affairs of the company.

The translation of this letter of attorney in Pastorius' quaint English and in his own hand is still extant, and is printed here in full:

We subscribed do manifest & confess herewith, *Whereas* we Joiningly have bought five & twenty thousand acres of unseparated land in Pennsylvania, according to the documents & Indentures thereof, with peculiar Priviledges & Rights, And therefore in Vertue thereof the 12th of November 1686. by a peculiar Writing haveing formed a Society, & for the Cultivation & Administration of the sd land have Impowred Mr. Francis Daniel Pastorius. J. U. L. according to the Letter of attorney bearing Date the 12th of April 1683. And yet because of the death of some heads of the sd Company, & the between Jrruption of the French War, as also chiefly because of the absence of the Governour, & the unableness of the sd Our Factor, these Our affairs in the sd Province are come to a Stop, the more mentioned Mr. Pastorius having also desired by & in several of his Letters to be discharged of his Administration; That we for such end do conferr full Power & special Authority on Mr. Daniel Falkner & Johañes Kelpius as Inhabitants for the present in Peñsilvania, and also on Mr. Johañes Jawert the son of one of our Principals, nominally Mr. Balthasar Jawert of Lubeck, who hath resolved to transport himself thither, thus and in such wise that these Our three Plenipotentiaries

Joiningly or in Case of death of one or the Other, they or he who remains, shall have in the best form the Administration of all our goods we have there of the lands in the form & where they are Joiningly or separately assigned unto us, or shall be assigned, surveyed & set out, and of the City-Lots by reason of the five & twenty thousand acres being Competent to us, viz. the 4 or 6 Places in the City of Philadelphia, and of the 300. Acres situated in the Right & Liberty of the City before & about Philadelphia, And of the land bought by the Scullkill for a Brick-kiln And of all & every erected Building & other Meliorations, and of what hath been sent thither, or bought there, or otherwise got of Victuals, Comodities, Cattels, household-stuff, tools, Servants, Tenants & of other Persons, &c and therefore to call to an account in Our Name the sd Mr. Pastorius, who hitherto hath been our Plenipotentiary, and to take of him herewith all such Our Estates & effects, and in Case any of them should be alienated without our knowledge, above all things to vindicate them; So then in general or special, as it can be done best, to dispose, exchange, sell & receive the money for them, and hereupon to quit, transact, make Jndentures & Documents, Assurances, & in Suma to do & leave every thing what we Ourselves could or might do or leave, if we were then & there personally present, Cum potestate Substituendi, et Substitutionem toties quoties revocandi, cumq̄ Clausulis rati, grati, omnibusq̄ alijs illius loci & fori necessarijs et Consuetis. And in Case our aforementioned Plenipotentiaries should want *Any larger Power* then herein is Contained, the same we advisedly do grant herewith unto them, & do decently Jmplore the Governour in Chief and Magistrates of the sd Province, to regard them as such, and to grant them upon their request their Magisterial aid, in Case they should want the same; On the other hand Our Plenipotentiaries Joinedly & Separately are directed to the two Principals in Francfort on the river of Main, vizt. the heirs of Jacob van de Walle & Daniel Behagel both deceased, to acquaint & give an account unto them timely of every one of their transactions, and to address unto them Moneys or Comodities, to Correspond within and to expect, if need, further Orders & Instructions of them in the name of the whole Company, wherewith they shall further in this Case Communicate and get their Consent. Lastly we grant unto them herewith special Power to appropriate fifty Acres of Our land in Germantown for the benefit of a Schoolmaster, that the Youth in reading, writing & in good manners & education, without partial admonition to God & Christ may be brought up and Instructed.

All faithfully & without Fraud, Jn true Witness whereof we have with our own hands Subscribed & Sealed this Letter of At-

torney, and caused the same to be made under & by publick Authority. Done in Francfort on the River of Mayn, the 24th day of January 1700.

- (Seal) Catharina Elizabetha Schützin Widow.
- (Seal) the Widow of Jacob van de Walle deceased.
- (Seal) the Heirs of Daniel Behagel deceased.
- (Seal) Johannes Kemmler.
- (Seal) Balthasar Jawert.
- (Seal) Joha<sup>n</sup>: Wilhelm Petersen d. . . . .
- (Seal) Gerhard van Mastrich.
- (Seal) Joha<sup>n</sup>es Le Brün.
- (Seal) Maria van de Walle Widow of Doctor Thomas van Willig with her Copartners.

The above and within written is a True Copy of ye originall Letter of Attorney as ye same is Recorded in ye Rolls Office at Philadelphia in Book D. 2. vol 4. page 104 &c.

Examined by me

Richd. Heath Dep. ibm."

This transfer of the agency of the reorganized German company to Falkner, Kelpius and Jawert terminated Pastorius' official connection with the company's affairs. At the end of August, 1700, the new agents, after the arrival of Falkner and Jawert, entered upon their duties. Pastorius turned over to the new agents the company's land, house, barn, stable, corn (grain) in and above ground, cattle, household goods, utensils, etc., and also arrears of rents and other debts due the company, amounting in all to some £230. Kelpius, however, more inclined to mystic dreaming than to business, and evidently soon convinced that he could not be party to the acts of Falkner, resigned his office as co-agent, declaring himself "civilly dead" (civiliter mortuus), delivering his authority to the society and to Falkner to act in conjunction with Jawert in his stead. The deed of assignment is witnessed by Godfried Seelig and Johann Hendrick Sprogell. Jawert was disgusted at the shameful conduct of Falkner, who, among other things, "played the sot," posted a notice on the meeting-house in Germantown warning the public against transacting business with Falkner as agent of the company. On the 20th of March, 1705, Falkner and Jawert gave a letter of attorney to

George Lowther, who attempted to conduct the affairs of the company, and on the 26th of March, 1706, affixed a notice on the meeting-house in Germantown summoning those having business with the company to appear before him Friday, April 5th, at the house of Joseph Coulson in Germantown.

Henceforth Pastorius' interests in the German Company are chiefly of a personal character, as one of the original members. According to his own statement, he was appointed to act with Hans Henry Meels as attorney for the 4000 acre donation made by Catherine Elizabeth Schütz. The letter of attorney is dated November 4, 1704. There is no record of his having received any compensation for his seventeen years of service as agent for the German Company.

The affairs of the company rapidly grew worse. As is usually the case in such land crises, an adventurer appeared in the person of Johann Heinrich Sprögel, who, arriving from Holland, claimed to have bought out the company's interests before sailing. Falkner, deep in debt, joined Sprögel and retained David Lloyd by fraudulently turning over to him 1000 acres of Benjamin Furley's land, and quietly secured from the Court of Philadelphia County the famous or infamous "Writ of Ejectment"<sup>35</sup> dispossessing the German Company of their 25,000 acres of land. The pleas were made before Joseph Growdon, Samuel Finny and Nathan Stanbury, Esqs., Justices of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia County, January 13, 1708.<sup>36</sup>

The injustice of this decision was strongly urged by Pastorius both in his brief, *The Case of the Francfort Company's Business briefly Stated*, and in his more elaborate statement of the case entitled *Exemplum sine Exemplo*, written in 1611. In 1713 Jawert brought the matter before the Friends' Monthly Meeting,

---

<sup>35</sup> A copy of this is to be found in Pastorius' hand in the Pastorius MSS. in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

<sup>36</sup> The documents relating to this case were first printed by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker in his *Pennsylvania Colonial Cases*, Philadelphia, 1892.

calling David Lloyd seriously to account for the part he had taken in the matter.

After having gone over the matter with careful scrutiny I find no reason to impugn the account given by Pastorius in both of his papers, and I print the shorter of the two here as his epitome of the whole case:

**"The Case of the Francfort Company's Business briefly Stated.**

Jacob van de Walle, Caspar Merian, Joha<sup>n</sup> Jacob Schütz, Joha<sup>n</sup> William Uberfeld, Johan William Petersen and Daniel Behagel having purchased 15000 acres of land in Pennsylvania, gave Año 1683. the 2d of April, and the 5th of May to Francis Daniel Pastorius two letters of Attorney, to administer the said land, wherein they promised him a reasonable Salary out of the Incomes and Rents thereof. Año 1683, the 11th of July Joha<sup>n</sup> William Uberfeld conveyed unto the sd Pastorius by a certain Deed of Sale his 1000. Acres, which he had purchased of William Penn, sending him the Original Lease & Release under the sd William Peñs hand & Seal. Anno 1686 the 12th of November the abovesd Vande Walle (having bought Caspar Merian's share), Schutz, Petersen and Behagel together with other five persons, viz: Gerhard van Mastricht, Thomas Willigh, John Le Brun, Balthasar Jawert and John Kemler, (who purchased 10000 Acres more,) made a Contract of [Sale] inserting also the sd Pastorius' Name for 1000 Acres; So that the whole Content of their land is 25000 acres, and the Partners in all ten.

In this Contract of Society among other Covenants & Articles they agreed, that those of the Partners who transported themselves into Peñsylvania may take up some land for themselves out of the sd Tract of 25000 Acres for a certain Recognition or Rent, &c. Jtem, that if there should happen any Misunderstanding or Cause of Contention between them, their heirs & Successors, concerning this Estate, and whatever depends thereon the same shall be determined by two honest persons unanimously chosen by the differing Parties, and that these two chosen persons shall have Power to take unto them the third, if they think it necessary, &c.

Anno 1700. the 24th of January the Widow of Jacob vande Walle, the Widow of Joha<sup>n</sup> Jacob Schutz, the heirs of Daniel Behagel, the widow of Thomas Willigh, John Kemler, Balthasar Jawert, Johan William Petersen, Gerhard van Mastricht and John Le Brun, (nine partners beyond Sea,) being often requested by the aforesd Pastorius, to put an other in his place, gave a Letter of At-



torney to Daniel Falkner, Johannes Kelpius & Johannes Jawert to act jointly, or in Case of death of one or the other, then the Survivors or Survivor, &c.

Eodem Anno 1700, the 1st of March Catherin Elizabeth Schutzin (widow of Johan Jacob Schütz), by a Deed of Gift Freely gave the 4000 Acres, which her husband had purchased with her own money, unto such pious persons, as Daniel Falkner & Arnold Stork shall think meet, which sd Stork Substituted Francis Daniel Pastorius & Hans Henry Meels by his Letter of Attorney, dated the 4th of November 1704. proved & Recorded at Philada.

In the aforesd year 1700. at the end of the 6th month (August,) Daniel Falkner & Johaães Jawert being arrived here, began along with Johannes Kelpius to administer the Company's affairs, to whom the sd Pastorius delivered up the land, house, barn, stable, corn in & above ground, Cattel, household goods, Utensils, &c and besides in arrears of Rents & other Debts due to the Company about 230. £ hoping, they would do Business with better Success, than he signified to the Partners in Germany, that he was able or capable to do himself; But soon after Johaães Kelpius declared, [that] he would not act as Attorney for the sd Company, calling himself Civilliter Mortuus: Whereupon Daniel Falkner plaid the Sot, making Bonfires of the Company's Flax in open street, giving a Piece of eight to one Boy to shew him in his drunken Fit a house in Philada., and to another a Bit to light him his Pipe &c. Inasmuch that his Fellow Attorney Johaães Jawert affixed an Advertisement on the Meeting house at Germantown, that no body should pay any Rent or other Debt to the Company unto the sd Falkner. Yea and the then Bailiff and Burgesses of the Germantown Corporation acquainted the sd Company of the ill Administration of this their Attorney here, in a letter, which (as they afterwards did hear,) miscarried.

For this reason of Deficiency of Power none would buy any land of the sd Falkner, and so all was still and quiet, till John Henry Sprögel, (a cunning and fraudulent Fellow, as appears by several letters, sent from Holland after him,) arrived in this Province, who one time would say, that his father had some Interest in the Francfort Company, (which is utterly false;) and an other time, that he bought the Companies Estate of Gerhard van Mastricht and the rest when in Germany, and that the French took away his writings; (which is no more true than the former,) For after he was taken he still for some weeks did lye in Holland, and so might either have had other Deeds from them, or at least a letter from any of them, to signify unto their Attornies here, that he bought the land, which he never bought one acre of, as since the sd van Mastricht did write.

[Meanwhile the sd] Falkner pretending to have a Special Power to Sell, and being . . . . . epts together with the sd Sprögel befriended themselves with David Lloyd by means of a thousand Acres of Benjamin Furly land, accomplished their horrible Plot, and without the least knowledge either of Johannes Jawert or Francis Daniel Pastorius, and, and also without any Warning given to the Tenants in Possession, in a Court held for the County of Philada. Ejected the Company out of their 25000 Acres of land, they honestly purchased in Peñsilvania. The like Trick he the sd Falkner intended some time before, imploying George Lowther, who brought that Instrument, which he calls a Special Power, into the German-town Corporation Court, in order to have it acknowledged & recorded; But the sd Court disapproved the same, Because the sd Paper was only Signed by two (and those the youngest) of the sd Company, neither did it revoke the former Letter of Attorney given to Falkner, Kelpius and Jawert, Signed by all the nine Partners living in Germany; But is only a Declaration of something in the sd Letter of Attorney, which of itself is plan & manifest: Moreover the sd Falkner could not prove the sd Instrument according to the Law of this Province, And where has he ever proved the same Viva voce of at least two Witnesses? Had David Lloyd not shewed himself so Pragmatical in this Case, but let Daniel Falkner by his lame & insufficient Explanatory Letter Convey the Company's land to Sprögel, they might easily long ago have recover'd the same, and many honest men in high & low Germany, who are sincerely Inclined to Truth, Peace, Righteousness & Christianity would not be Occasioned to think so strange of this the Pennsilvanian Lawyers Way of Ejectment sine dié; especially when they hear, that One called a Quaker had a hand in it: And the sd Pastorius might at least have obtained somewhat of a Salary for his Service done unto the sd Company Seventeen years and a half, and what he disbursed of his own during that time.

Now the Company being thus miserably dispossessed of all their Estate, as afore mentioned, the sd Pastorius once with Arnold Cassel went to David Lloyd, and Complaining of the Wrong, also desired his Advice, presenting him a small Fee, which he refused to take; but told him, that he the sd Pastorius & Johaães Jawert were not included in the Ejectment, which they knew already. And when the sd Pastorius further asked the sd David Lloyd, what was best for him to do? David drawing his shoulders, told him, that his land (viz. the 1000. Acres) was Involv'd in that of the Company, and that he must seek for it at Sprögels. Which Counsel he the sd Pastorius scrupled to embrace, ist not to Prejudice the Com-

pany's Case by his so doing, and 2dly by reason that he was fully assured of Sprögel's unjust Occupation;

For Joseph Growden, (who at the abovesd County Court was Judge upon that Bench,) himself owned before the Lieutenant Governr and his Council, when Johañes Jawert exhibited his Petition to that Board, that the Court has been Surprised by the Lawyers, whom Falkner and Sprögel had all Feed, except only Thomas Clark, who rising as if he would speak some thing to the Matter, was taken by the Sleeve and Whispered in the Ear, Be Quiet, you shall have Forty shillings, &c. as he likewise then and there did relate it Openly.

And if David Lloyd dare Justify this barbarous Manner of Proceeding, and Spoiling of Widows and Orphans, its more than any can do that professeth Truth, and unless he really repent, and endeavour to have Restitution made to those who so deeply Suffer he certainly [will] be answerable for it at the great day of Judgment."

Francis Daniel Pastorius.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> An adverse estimate of Pastorius' merits as Agent of the German (Frankfurt) Company is given by J. F. Sachse in *The German Pietists of Pennsylvania*, p. 300ff.

(To be continued.)

## GERMAN ARCHIVES AS SOURCES OF GERMAN-AMERICAN HISTORY.

Paper read before the Pennsylvania German Society, October, 1907, by Joseph G. Rosengarten, LL. D.

There yet remain many sources of information unexhausted as to details of the part played by Germans in American history. In the archives at Marburg, still made practically inaccessible by the want of interest of the keeper in American history, there must be much of value and interest. Every German officer was required to make full reports for the home authorities and to keep journals for inspection—few of these have been printed. It would be well for the Pennsylvania German Society to invite co-operation of similar bodies in asking the U. S. Government to secure from the German Government access to the Marburg and other collections, and to make calendars with a descriptive account of the most interesting papers. The Library of Congress is having such calendars made in the State Paper Office and other record depositories in England, of papers relating to American history, particularly that of the Revolution. In a recent volume of the invaluable publication, the Report of the English Historical Commission, there are detailed descriptions of various matters relating to the German soldiers serving with the British in this country. There are curious and interesting descriptions of the efforts made by the American authorities to secure recruits from the German soldiers who were prisoners of war—both men and officers reported quite fully on this subject, and clearly there must have been many successful conversions of the German soldiers into good Americans, for substantial inducements and rewards were held out. We hear from time to time of good American citizens claiming descent from Hessian soldiers who remained and settled in this country, and particularly in Pennsylvania,

Maryland and Virginia, where many of them found homes with their fellow countrymen, old settlers, sometimes with relations, often with old friends and neighbors in the Fatherland. The late Rev. Dr. Morris, of Baltimore, himself an active worker in the history of Germans in Maryland, was very proud that he was the son of a Hessian who had left the British forces at York, Pa., joined the American army and served with credit, and became an honored citizen of York.

It would be interesting to gather the particulars of such cases, which must have been very numerous in the aggregate. Then, too, the royal masters who had sold their men to Great Britain, encouraged them to take leave of their old flag and settle in America, for thus all questions of pension compensation at home were solved. It would be interesting to know how many did so and how many brought family and friends and neighbors from the Fatherland to settle in America, and thus started that stream of immigration which flowed so strongly and enriched the United States with so large a part of one of its most valuable elements, our German American citizens. Then again, it has often been asked, "What colors did the German troops serving with the British army carry and what became of them?" It is recorded in the interesting *Berufsreise* of Madam Riedesel, that she saved the colors of her husband's regiment, when it surrendered with Burgoyne at Saratoga, by sewing them up in her petticoats, and thus carried them home. Unluckily, a fire destroyed them, together with many of the records of the Brunswick troops, in the city of Brunswick. Mr. Gherardi Davis, of New York, has devoted much time and attention to the study of the flags carried in the Revolution by both American and foreign troops. He has recently printed a book of great interest and value on the subject. Here in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are preserved the almost faded and perishing colors of the Anspach regiment, and at West Point and in the New York Historical Society there are others. The Rev. Dr. Edward

Everett Hale, an indefatigable octogenarian, remembers having seen staffs with German colors, captured at the Battle of Bennington, where Baum's Heavy Brunswick Dragoons were routed by Stark's Militia Sharp Shooters. The colors have long since disappeared, so that they cannot be identified, but the flagstuffs are still piously preserved in the Old North Church, of Boston. Thanks to the kindly interposition of His Excellency, the Hon. Charlemagne Tower, American Ambassador to Germany, the effort is now being made in Berlin to secure a collection of reproductions of all the flags carried by German troops serving in America, and if it is only approximately complete, it will be an interesting addition to and illustration of Mr. Davis' work.

At West Point there are also some German flags captured by the Americans, and these will no doubt be identified by comparison with the German reproductions. There are some huge German Dragoon boots and some arms preserved in Bennington, as relics of that victory which so clearly established the superiority of the American sharpshooter over the trained German soldier, for warfare in our mountain country. What trophies did the Germans carry home, other than the colored drummers taken by Riedesel to Brunswick, where the tradition and the writers of historical novels have preserved their memory and perhaps exaggerated it?

A valuable addition to our better knowledge of the actual life and surroundings of the German soldiers here, is derived from their journals and diaries. To the growing number of these personal records, Prof. Learned has added the *Waldeck Diary*, kept by a chaplain of that name and of the Waldeck regiment. He has enriched the value and interest of the text by notes supplied by his own intimate knowledge of the subject, and by special research in foreign archives. After all, however, when it is remembered that every officer must and many soldiers did keep diaries and journals, what we have of them in print is a very small proportion of those still in uncatalogued archives

and in private hands. Not long since, one such journal, Captain Dernberg's, was printed on the anniversary of a great public school in Germany as a tribute to one of its former pupils. It is to be hoped that many more will yet see the light, for every such diary brings us in close touch with the men and the deeds and the events of that heroic time, the war for American Independence; and as much can be learned from the statements made in all good faith of those who tried to prevent it, as from its most ardent supporters. In the latest and one of the best works on the subject, that of Sir George Trevelyan, it is interesting to note the extent to which he has drawn from such sources, mostly hitherto unused by the solemn historian of the old school, but in the hands of so great a master as Sir George Trevelyan, adding entirely new light to the picture he draws of the great struggle for American independence. It must be recognized, too, that the Declaration of Independence was almost as much one for constitutional liberty of England as of America.

From the peace of Paris, the power of the Crown diminished and that of Parliament increased. What influence American example and experience had on the Germans who served in this country, is nowhere distinctly stated, yet there can be little doubt that the American War of Independence was a large factor in the struggle against Napoleon and the final establishment of Germany as an independent power, and later on of its logical outgrowth, the German Empire of to-day. Almost every American pamphlet or book or record of its Congress, was translated and published in Germany. Many of these and other contemporary publications have historical interest to-day, as showing the trend of political sympathy and opinion of Germany of that day, its close and watchful interest in America, and the difference between the Hanoverians and particularly the Göttingen Professors, naturally sympathizing with their elector and the King of England, on one side, and the rest of intellectual Germany on the other.

We all remember gratefully Schiller's eloquent diatribes against the petty sovereigns who sold their subjects to fight in America, against freedom, and in a cause with which they had no concern and certainly no reason for hostility. It would be interesting to know how many of these German "hirelings" remained in or returned to this country, and how many other sturdy Germans were led to come here as settlers by the favorable report of the country and the people in which they had gained so little honor, but so much knowledge and experience. The large accession of Germans, with all the thrift and perseverance and other virtues of the race, may be due, in a large part, to the German soldiers sent here without their own consent, to help maintain British control. At all events, it would be well to secure and preserve all official and personal narratives of their enforced visit to America and all the stories of America told by them and others on their return. To the patient and persevering researches of Dr. Sachse, this Society and the public that reads its published volumes, may well make acknowledgment for the light he has thrown on the early history of the sects that came to this country of freedom of religious opinion, on the help that Germans gave Pennsylvania in the successful founding of this great Commonwealth, and on some of its leaders of thought and action.

Other workers in other fields of historical research have added to our knowledge of the early settlers of Pennsylvania. Will not this Society now lend its help to procuring copies, if not original papers, from the German archives and from both private and public collections, and add them to the historical material now being slowly gathered in the Library of Congress, in that of the venerable German Society of Pennsylvania, and in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania and in that of the Historical Society—all gradually growing in importance. What Seidensticker and Pennypacker have done for early Pennsylvania history; what Rattermann, of Cincinnati, has done for the history of Germans and German literature in America; what this Society



has done and is still doing for a better knowledge of Pennsylvania Germans, their history, their religion, their customs and their ancestry; what Learned has done for their literature and its steady growth and development, all of these and kindred contributions may well be an inspiration to continued and renewed effort to collect from all quarters all records of the Germans who have so greatly helped to make this nation and much of its history.

There is a large harvest to be gathered of printed books, historical and geographical descriptions, biographies and autobiographies, novels and poetry, written by Germans in and on America, during the long period from the first settlement of Germans in this country down to our own day. Hessian and Swabian local authors, and others of much wider fame, have written about their countrymen in this country, both in war and in peace. Individual collectors have gathered much of this material, but the Pennsylvania German Society might well enter this field and secure copies of all that throws light on the German settlers of Pennsylvania, from the first comers to our own day.

With the recent development of close and friendly relations between the German Empire and the United States, it ought to be possible to have access to German archives with their wealth of material relating to our own history, national and local. In war matters, Kapp and Lowell have given us much in print, but they and others have left much still in manuscript. Mr. Bancroft's collection of material for his *History of the United States*, largely collected for him by Kapp, is now accessible in the Lenox Library, in New York. Mr. Lowell's admirable book, *The Hessian Troops in the American Revolution*, by no means exhausted the wealth of original documents procured by him during a long stay in Germany. His representatives would no doubt give permission to this Society, through a properly accredited representative, to make a selection of material to print for the use of students. The English Historical Commission Reports, Doniol's ex-

haustive work on France and the United States, are examples of the kind of material that can be found in hitherto hidden archives and in collections belonging to individuals. An industrious Swedish-American, Mr. Amandus Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania, has found in Sweden new material for the better knowledge of the history of its early settlements on the Delaware. Surely our German students can do as much for us at home and abroad.

An American author, Mr. Henry Charles Lea, has won great and deserved reputation, even greater in Europe than in this country, by his monumental historical writings; his mastery of the subjects he has made his special field of research, is based on his large collection of original, mainly manuscript material, gathered in Spain and in the countries that were formerly Spanish colonies, in Mexico and in Peru, as well as in Germany, where the great university libraries have furnished much hitherto unused material for this greatest of American historians. True, it is his ability to know how to use it that has made him so widely honored wherever his works are known, but first he had to collect his sources from afar.

Is there not a wide field of research and collection open to the Pennsylvania German Society and to kindred bodies, a field in which new discoveries of old material still remain for the diligent student? Cannot this Society enlist the co-operation of kindred bodies in obtaining copies from the German archives, of all documents throwing new light on the history of Germans in this and other States? Will not such a task be an inspiration to all who are looking for subjects on which to obtain and disseminate a larger knowledge of our past history, and thus show them that patriotism which is the highest honor of American citizenship, and make known what Germans and Germany have done for this country?

How invaluable would be a diary, even crudely written, by a resident of Hesse or any of the small German States, during

the war of the American Revolution, telling the story of the raising of troops for service in America, of the departure of individual soldiers and organizations, of the reports and rumors received at home from the distant soldiers, and of their return and welcome home. We have a few diaries and journals kept by the soldiers, and even by the officers, and there must be many more still in manuscript. Sir George Trevelyan's recent volumes of history of the American Revolution show, almost for the first time, the state of public opinion in England towards the Americans, and there must be material for some similar view of the feeling of the German families towards the country to which the sons had been sent to subdue a rebellion that found so many warm supporters among the Germans in both Germany and America. Apart from military records and reports, we want to know what was the general drift of sentiment; of public opinion there was little or none in those days of German separate and bad governments. What was the result of the return of several thousand soldiers from a country where, in spite of war, there was prosperity for every industrious family, to poor Germany, ground down by taxes and hopeless of either political or social future?

Were not the returned soldiers the best advocates for that emigration which benefited both countries? A recent German historical novel, dealing with a Hessian soldier, makes him find a brother, long before settled in Pennsylvania, who contrasted his comfort and prospects with those of the family left in Germany. Was not this the condition of many families, who gladly joined their friends and relatives across the ocean and thus helped to swell the tide of emigration? What the *Hallesche Nachrichten* do for a better knowledge of the religious life of the Germans in America, the letters and diaries and journals of German soldiers here during the Revolution will do for a more intimate view of actual life in this country.

Professor Learned and Mr. Myers have made an interesting

exhibit at Jamestown of charts showing the gradual spread of German and other migrations from the North to the South and West in Colonial days, and after the Revolution and the Constitution had opened the whole Union to newcomers. They have also gathered many interesting relics of those early days, showing the implements of trade in farming and other pursuits. Why not try to collect the printed and manuscript material that will show how Germany learned to know the boundless resources of America, and how this country became a prosperous home for the thousands of Germans whose descendants still honor their ancestry in this and other States.

Much in the way of research and collection still remains, and this Society, proud of its stately volumes of papers on the local history and achievements of Pennsylvania Germans, may well find a new field of activity in inviting the co-operation of similar societies. United effort cannot fail to open archives hitherto closed, and to obtain from public and private sources, much of value and interest for a better knowledge of our German settlers and emigrants, and their homes and ancestors and local surroundings. Professor Learned has been a diligent laborer in this field; his study of the family of Pastorius shows what a harvest of facts, hitherto unknown, he has garnered by intelligent pursuit of inquiries in Germany. What he has done single handed, may well be continued and increased in result by the united effort of a body as powerful as the Pennsylvania German Society.

A member of a well known family of Philadelphia, Mr. John Frederick Lewis, has gathered material for the genealogy and history of his ancestors, Ludwig was the old German name, and his research has been amply rewarded by showing how well that name deserved honor and won it alike in the Fatherland and in the new home in America. Such examples are well worth bearing in mind as illustrations of what can be done by the Pennsylvania German Society.

Let me urge this Society to use its influence, due to its activity and the value of its publications, to secure a complete catalogue of all the papers preserved in German archives, and in private collections, relating to America in its Colonial days, in the Revolutionary War, and in the time of that German immigration which has been so large a factor in American prosperity. The time is ripe for thus harvesting in our national library at Washington, all that can be garnered abroad and at home. The Pennsylvania Society would thus broaden its field of activity, would enlist the co-operation of kindred societies, and would make its work national.

Let me present the contents of a letter from Prof. Charles M. Andrews, of Johns Hopkins University, giving a summary of the work he is doing to add manuscript sources from English archives to the material for history of the United States.

Prof. Andrews is preparing a Guide to the English Archives and is having transcripts from them made for the Library of Congress. He has described the first part of the work in a report printed not long since. The work of 1903-4 covered the principal collections of English records, in 1905 it was devoted to the Colonial Office papers, *i. e.*, the Board of Trade and America and West Indies, and included also commercial and colonial correspondence. In 1906 it covered many of the minor repositories, including the Guildhall Library, the Royal Society, Dr. Williams' Library, Lion College, Devonshire House, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, etc. In 1907 he completed his survey of the Public Record Office, the Audit Office, Commissariat and Customs Offices, the Treasury, Solicitor, with a re-examination of the War Office, Foreign Office, and Home Office collections, the records of the Corporation of London in the Guildhall, the Bodleian and the British Museum Libraries. The work was originally projected in two volumes, with the title, "Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in London Archives, in the British Museum, and in the Manuscript

Collections of Oxford and Cambridge." The first volume is waiting for the re-arrangement of the records now in progress in England, and is thus postponed for an uncertain time. The second volume will appear probably this winter and under an independent title. Work for the Library of Congress will provide in the neighborhood of one hundred volumes of transcripts, of which a list was given in the Report of the Librarian for 1906, pp. 137-9, but many additions have been made since. It includes documents from the Bodleian and British Museum Libraries, from the Admiralty, Colonial and Treasury papers in the Record Office. It also includes papers relating to the Hessian and other German allied soldiers serving in this country, from the Treasury, Colonial and Audit and Foreign Offices and the British Museum. The material is so scattered and much of it so little known, that a calendar of it should be very useful to anyone writing the history of the German auxiliary troops in America. Letters, agreements, rosters, descriptions often in minute detail, accounts, statistics of losses, killed, wounded and captured, of individual losses in battles, as at Trenton, regarding which some very important information came to light in a volume found this summer in the Audit Office, labeled "Acct. of the extraordinary Disbursements, to be made good by the Crown of Great Britain, for the losses of the Hessian troops from 1776-1784." These accounts are often itemized in great detail, items for sickness, hospital charges, repairs to guns, traveling expenses, postage, etc. The lists of personal effects, money, jewelry, baggage, lost at Trenton, are most interesting. These documents are all in English, but many of the others are in German and French. Two volumes on "America and West Indies," contain some correspondence with Brig.-General Campbell, on the subject of embarkation, and among the Foreign Office papers "Prussia," are many letters which relate to the attitude of Frederick II. on the subject of allowing hired German troops to pass through Prussian or rather Hohenzollern territory. What Prof. Andrews is thus doing in

English archives may well be followed in those in Germany. There are 180 volumes compiled by the late B. F. Stevens, now in the Library of Congress, forming an exhaustive catalogue index of manuscripts in the archives of England, France, Holland and Spain, relating to America, from 1763-1783, described as "the sole key to the American Revolutionary documents in European archives," yet none of those in Germany are included. Prof. Andrews, too, limits his "Guide to Material in British Collections" to be issued by the Carnegie Institution, of Washington, to collections in England. Even there he has found material for a calendar of papers relating to the German troops in the American Revolution, described by the Librarian of the Congressional Library as "interesting in itself and serving to complete such calendars now in the Library," although as yet it is limited to only a portion of the German troops serving here. It is described by Prof. Andrews as "three bundles of papers containing the accounts of the Hessian troops engaged during the war, 1775-1779, with tables giving the exact names, ranks and numbers of Brandenburg and Anspach forces in America, forming altogether one of the most complete rosters of the Hessians that we have. The documents are in French, German and English." In the vast mass of uncatalogued papers in the British Museum are papers relating to the Palatines, in the Lansdowne manuscripts; in the New Castle papers there are 17 volumes of Bouquet papers, and 231 volumes of Haldimund papers, listed in Brymner's *Canadian Archives*; in the War Office records there are "Hessian letters with rosters." Prof. Andrews points to the untouched records of the Foreign Office, for reports from British diplomatic and military agents in Germany, particularly in Brunswick, Hesse and the other states that furnished, as well as those that refused to sell troops to Great Britain. What wealth of material must there be as yet untouched or only partly known, in the archives of these countries, from which much information yet remains to be gathered.

As an illustration of how much more of ignorance there is than of information on German Americans, let me point to a paragraph in a recent English book, "Society in the Country House," by T. H. S. Escott, formerly editor of a leading English magazine, and a voluminous author. This book bears the imprint of Geo. W. Jacobs & Co., Philadelphia. In it (on page 356) he speaks of Sunday Schools "acclimated at Ephratah, in Pennsylvania, by the descendants of those who had sailed to New England in the Mayflower." Is not such a statement the strongest argument in support of my plea for a plan for calendars or descriptive catalogues of the records preserved in German archives touching American history and the share of Germans in it?



PROVINCIALISMS OF SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

By PROFESSOR B. A. HEYDRICK,  
State Normal School, Millersville, Pa.

(Continued.)

BLOW UP (snow, rain, &c.). Storm coming.

"It will *blow up* something before night."

Lan., Y., Sch., Bucks, Ad.

Pa. Ger. *ufblosa*; Ger. *heraufblasen*.

C.—Quotes Shakespere, "Blow up rain."—Lucrece, l. 1788.

BOUGHTEN. Purchased.

"I have a *boughten* sled."

Sch., Bucks, Lack., Mif., Berks, Sul.

C.—Coll. U. S.

BUSH. Woods.

"The horse ran off the road into the *bush*."

Lan., Leb., Dau., Sch., Berks, Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. *bush*, a forest; Ger. *Busch* denotes a small wood, thicket.

Used also in Ontario, Canada, and Wisconsin.

C.—Stretch of forest or shrubby vegetation; scrub.

BRASH.<sup>1</sup> Brittle.

"That stick's too *brash*; it will break easily."

Lan., Mer., Ad., Per., Y.

Also in Canada.

C.—Local in U. S.

BRASH.<sup>2</sup> Impetuous.

"If the river gets too *brash* the ice will go."

Lan., Bucks, Ad., Phila.

C.—Coll. Eng. and U. S.

BRIGGLE, *v.* Trifle; to work ineffectively.

"You never will get it done if you *briggle* away at it like that."

Blair, Mercer., Y., Lan.

C.-O.—Not given in Murray's New Eng. Dict. nor in Wright's Eng. Dial. Dict.

(370)

- BUTTER-BREAD.** Buttered bread.  
 "I want some *butter-bread*."  
 The expression "gravy-bread" is also used.  
 Lan., Y., Leb., Dau., Ad., Cum., Bucks, Blair.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *bud'r-bröd*; Ger. *butterbrod*.  
 C.-O.
- By, or BYO.** Cradle (in nursery talk).  
 "Put the baby in the *byo* now."  
 Lan., Bed., Per., Y., Leb., Sch., Berks.  
 Query: From by-low; by-low land = sleep. Used by Pa. Ger-  
 mans, but not given in Horne.  
 C.-O.
- CABA (cäb'a).** Hand-satchel used by a lady.  
 "She had her handkerchief in her *caba*."  
 Lan., Leb., Y., Ches., Ad., Sch., Phila.  
 fr. *cabas*, but used in Pa. Ger. Not in Horne.  
 C. and Web. Int. give this word as if used everywhere; Murray  
 says U. S. Is it even general in the U. S.? It is reported  
 as unknown in these places: Crawford and Montour Co.,  
 Pa.; Eastern Nebraska, Northern Illinois, Northern New  
 Hampshire, Loudoun Co., Va., and Somerset Co., Md.
- CALCULATE.** Think; sometimes, to intend.  
 "I *calculate* to get my money's worth."  
 Lan., Leb., Sch., Ches., Fran., Y., Cum., Ad.  
 C.—Colloq. N. Eng.
- CATTY.** Small cat-fish.  
 "He caught a *catty* in the dam."  
 Lan., Bucks, Ad., Y., Leb., Phila.  
 Cf. sunny, stony.  
 C.-O.
- CELLAR-NECK.** (Rare.) Cellar-way or entrance.  
 "Be careful in going down the *cellar-neck*."  
 Lan., Leb.  
 Pa. Ger. *källrhöls*; Ger. *Kellerhals*.  
 C.-O.
- CHAFF-BAG.** Straw tick.  
 "He can sleep better on a *chaff-bag* than on feathers."  
 Lan., Ad., Y., Leb., Sch.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *shbrouöök*; Ger. *Spreusack*.  
 C.-O.

**CHICKER.** (Rare.) Cultivate (a field); to drag with a harrow.

"You ought to *chicker* that ground more."

Ad., Leb., Cen., Y.

fr. Pa. Ger. *chicker*. Not in Horne.

Also pronounced checker, jigger.

C.-O.

**COME AWAY.**

Disappear; become lost.

"My knife *came away* last week."

Lan., Leb., Sch., Leh., Dau., Berks, Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. *wekkumä*; Ger. *wegkommen*.

C.-O.

**COMMY.**

A stone marble, the commonest sort.

"He won all my *commys*."

Lan., Ad., Y., Leb., Mercer, Sch., Phila.

In Canada called *grays*.

Query: fr. Common.

C.-O.

**CONCEITY.**

<sup>1</sup>Over-particular, notional; <sup>2</sup>conceited.

"He's too *conceity* about his victuals."

Ches., Camb., Sch., Mif., Lan., Y., Ad.

Cf. Conceit, *v*.

C.-O.

Murray—Chiefly Scottish.

**COMPLETED.**

Having a certain complexion.

"He was a dark-*completed* fellow."

Lan., Y., Mif., Camb., Sch., Ches., Cum.

(Cf. adjectives formed by adding -ed to nouns, as booted, *v*.)

Appendix to Schmidt's Shakespeare Lexicon.)

C.—Coll. W. & S., U. S.

**CONTRAPTION.**

Device, Contrivance.

"He fixed up a *contraption* to keep the cow from hooking people."

Lan., Leb., Cum., Bucks, Ad.

Cent.—Coll. U. S.

W.-O.

**CORN.**

Give corn to.

"Did you *corn* the horses?"

Lan., Bedford.

Verb formed from noun. Cf. *hub*.

C.—Scotch.

CRISSKINGLE. 1. Santa Claus. 2. A Christmas gift.

"See what *Criss Kingle* brought me!"

Ad., Leb., Y., Lan., Sch., Cent., and Salem Co., N. J.

Pa. Ger. *Krishd Kind'l*; Ger. *Christ Kindlein*.

It is used of the giver and of the gift, but the first is more common. It is never used in the sense given below.

C. (Cyc. Names) defines as the Christ Child.

DARE,<sup>1</sup> *v. t.* Have permission.

"*Dare* I be excused early to-day?"

fr. Pa. Ger. *darfä*; Ger. *dürfen*.

DARE,<sup>2</sup> *n.* Permission, often with article, as below.

C.-O.

"May I have the *dare* to go?"

Y., Dau., Lan., Per., Mif., Sch., Ad.

See Dare.<sup>1</sup>

C.-O.

DINNER. Noon; time of dining.

"We had beans this *dinner*"—i. e., to-day at dinner.

(Cf. *breakfast* and *supper*).

Lan., Lib., Y., Dau., Lack., Camb., Ches., Cum., Berks.

fr. Ger. *Mittag*; Pa. Ger. *middög*, which in both languages means *dinner* as well as *noon*.

C.-O.

DOCTOR-BOOK. Family medical guide.

"Look in the *Doctor-book* and see what ails you."

Lan., Y., Dau., Sch., Bucks, Lack., Huntg., Cent.,

fr. Pa. Ger. *Dükt'r buch*.

C.-O.

DO UP. Can; preserve.

"I will *do up* the cherries to-day."

Lan., Ad., Leb., Y., Sch., Phila., Wayne, Cent., Bucks.

fr. Pa. Ger. *uf doo*; Ger. *auf thun*.

C.-O.

DONE UP. All gone; exhausted.

"The apples are *done up*."

Lan., Mif., Camb., Cum., Bucks.

Cf. *eaten up*.

C.-O.

- DOODLE.** Small pile of hay.  
 "Throw the windrows up into *doodles*."  
 Mercer, Bedford, Ad.  
 Not given in Murray.  
 C.-O.
- DUMB.** Slow-witted.  
 "You can't teach him a thing, he's that *dumb!*"  
 Lan., Leb., Y., Dau., Sch., Cent., Mer.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *dum*; Ger. *dumm*.  
 C.—Local U. S.
- DRESS AROUND.** Change clothes.  
 "I must *dress around* before I go."  
 Dau., Ad., Lan., Leb., Y., Cum., Bucks.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *rumshdripa*; Ger. *umziehen*.  
 C.-O.
- DUMBHEAD.** Dolt.  
 "You're spoiling everything, you *dumbhead!*"  
 Lan., Leb., Cen., Ad., Sch., Wayne, Mer., Bucks.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *dum küp*; Ger. *dummkopf*.  
 Hoover, p. 62: "You're a dumbhead, that's what you are; anybody ought to know that there!"  
 C.-O.
- DUNCY.** Rather stupid.  
 "He's a *duncy* fellow."  
 Lan., Ad., Lack., Sch.  
 Cf. *dauncy* = slightly sick at the stomach.  
 C. gives *duncish*.
- EXPECT.** Suppose.  
 "I *expect* they are home by this time."  
 Lan., Dau., Cen., Bucks, Ad.  
 C.—Prov. Eng. and local U. S.
- FALLING WEATHER.** Rain or snow.  
 "It's clouding up, and we'll have *falling weather* to-morrow."  
 Lan., Sch., Leb., Dau., Y., Mif., Cum., Cent.  
 C.-O.—Not in Murray.  
 S.—Colloquial.

FEN-DUBS. (Dübs.) No double shots; in marbles, prohibiting player from gaining more than one marble by a single shot.

Lan., Y., Sch., Berks, Camb.  
C.—Given as above.

FEN-EVERS. Everything forbidden; used in playing marbles, cuts off all privileges.

“*Fen-evers!* You can go around or get two.”  
Lan., Y., Sch., Mif.  
Query: fr. *fen* [ Fr. *defendre*] + *everything*.  
C.—See *fen-hext*.

FEN-HEXT. No charming. Used in playing marbles, meaning that your opponent must not make a cross on the ground to bewitch you.

“You daren’t do that; I said *fen-hext*.”  
Lan., Y., Sch., Cen., Bucks.  
fr. *fen* or *fend*, and Ger. *hexen*, to bewitch.  
C. gives *fen*, but not this phrase.

FILLING. Stuffing, of a fowl.

“I want some chicken and some more *filling*.”  
Ad., Cent., Y., Bucks, Leb., Leh., Sch., Phila., Salem Co., N. J.,  
and Loudoun Co., Va.  
fr. Pa. Ger. *fil’s’l*; Ger. *füllsel*.  
C.-O.

FLITTING. Moving (of household goods.)

“There goes Jones’ *flitting*.”  
Lan., Leb., Y., Dau., Ches., Bed.  
C.—Scot. and Prov. Eng.  
W.—Do.

FROLIC. Gathering of neighbors to assist at some work, as raising a barn, followed by a feast and frolic.

“They had a big *frolic* when that ditch was dug.”  
Lan., Bucks, Cen., Mer., Ad., Leb.  
Used by Hoover, p. 108.  
C.-O.

GAD, n. A run-about; gossip. (Usually of women.)

"There goes that good-for-nothing *gad*."

Lan., Sch., Dau., Ad.

Noun formed from verb of same meaning.

C.-O.

W.-O.

S.—Same as *gadabout*.

GET SHUT OF. [Cf. shed of.] Get rid of.

"I have more apples than I'll *get shut of*."

Lan., Y., Bucks, Berks, Sch., Ches., Ad.

(Used in Tennyson's Northern Farmer, new style.)

C.—Prov. Eng. and U. S.

W.—Local Eng. and U. S.

GET TO GO. Be able to go.

"I don't think I'll *get to go* to-morrow."

Lan., Ches., Mif., Bucks, Y., Dau., Ad.

C. says Coll. Pa., but I have had it reported from Canada, Virginia and Illinois.

GIVE.<sup>1</sup> Yield (of crops).

"My orchard will *give* fifty bushels this year."

Lan., Sch., Ches., Y., Leb., Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. *gewa*; Ger. *geben*.

Cf. *give* rain.

C.—Def. 3, to yield.

GIVE.<sup>2</sup> Say, especially in phrase below.

"I must go and *give* him good-by."

Lan., Y., Sch., Mif., Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. *good-by gewa*.

Cf. "Seeing they were wearie . . . he let them see their lodging, and so gave them good-night.—Greene's *Menaphon*, Ed.

Arber, p. 33.

C.—3, e, defines give "to utter."

GIVE.<sup>3</sup> Prove to be; turn out as.

"He'll *give* a good doctor."

Lan., Dau., Y., Leb., Cen., Bucks, Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. idiom; also Ger.

C.-O.

GIVE A BOW.

Make a bow.

"I *gave a bow* as she passed."

Lan., Lan., Ches., Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. *bow geva*; Ger. *geben*.

GIVE RAIN.

Rain.

"I think it will *give rain* to-night."

Lan., Leb., Dau., Berks, Y., Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. *rayö geva*; Ger. *regen geben*.

"Give snow," "give hail," also used.

C. refers to Grumbine.

GLOVE.

Mitten; a hand covering without fingers.

"She knit him some warm *gloves*."

Lan., Y., Cent.

See *mitten*.

C.-O.

Go.

Ring, of a bell, usually in pret. tense.

"Has the bell *gone* yet?"

Lan., Leb., Y, Dau., Mif., Sch.

fr. Pa. Ger. *ga*.

C.—Def. 24: "To start into activity," but not this phrase.

W.-O.

S.—Def. 17: To strike, as a clock

GO DEAD.

Die. (Used of persons and animals.)

"His horse *went dead* last night."

Lan., Dau., Berks, Bucks, Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. *dod ga*; Ger. *tott gehen*

C.-O.

GOODY.

Kernel of a nut.

"Crack those nuts and pick out the *goodies*."

Lan., Y., Leb., Dau., Per. Sch., Ches

C. gives as sweetmeats of any kind.

GROUCHY.

Ill-humored.

"He's so *grouchy* you can't stay near him."

Query: fr. *gnitch*, dial. for *grudge*

C.-O.



- GUST.** Thunder-storm.  
 "I was kept at home by a *gust*."  
 Lan., Leb., Y., Dau., Ad.  
 C. defines as a "sudden squall."
- HAP.** (Pronounced as in "happy.") A wadded covering for  
 a bed; a comfort.  
 "She put a blanket and a *hap* on the bed."  
 Bed., Per., Mif., Camb., Blair.  
 C.—Prov. Eng. and Scotch.  
 W. defines as "cloak or plaid."
- HAUL, v. int.** Bring a load.  
 "I think I'll *haul* to town to-morrow."  
 Lan., Montg., Dau., Berks.  
 C.-O.
- HAVE IT.** To suffer, be ill; always with part affected.  
 "She *had it* in the head very bad."  
 Lan., Leb., Dau., Mif., Jun.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. idiom, *im kup hōwä*; also Ger. *haben* = to ail.  
 C.-O.
- HEX.** Witch, or a general term of reproach; hag.  
 "The old *hex* is always meddling around."  
 Lan., Bucks, Cent., Ad., Leb., Y., Sch.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *hēx*; Ger. *hexe*.  
 Hoover, p. 113: "Say, Galsch, you old hex . . . don't you go  
 and make our cows give bloody milk."  
 C.-O.
- HICKLE.** (Rare.) To hop; go lame.  
 "I had to *hickle* along on one foot."  
 Lan., Leb.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *hikla*; Ger. *hinkeln*?  
 "Hickle" is also used as the name for "hopscotch."
- HIKE.** (Slang.) Get away quickly; usually with "out."  
 "*Hike* out of here now, right quick!"  
 Lan., Leb., Y., Ad., Mif., Dau., Sch.  
 C.-O.  
 W.-O.  
 S.—Prov. Eng. and local U. S.

HOMESICK. Homesickness (only in phrase given below).

"I have *homesick* so bad I can't sleep."  
 ("Have the homesick" is also used.)  
 Dau., Lan., Y., Ad.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *hamwa hōwä*; Ger. *Heimweh haben*.  
 C.-O.

HOOK UP. Hitch; also to put on harness and hitch.

"Hook *up* the horses to haul hay."  
 Lan., Dau., Sch., Y., Mif., Berks, Ad.  
 C.-O.

HOOTCH, or HOOTCHY. Colt.

"There's the old mare and the *hootchy*."  
 Lan., Y., Leb., Mif., Ad.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *hutschli*, an imitative word.  
 C.-O.

HORN, *v*. To hook, to strike with the horns.

"That cow will *horn* you yet."  
 Dau., Lan., Leb., Hunt., Sch., Mif., Ad.  
 Verb from noun; cf. *hub*.  
 C.-O.  
 S.—Colloquial.

HOW ABOUT. (Rare.) How are you? (As a salutation.)

"*How about* you this morning?"  
 Query: fr. Ger. *Wie geht es bei Ihnen?* Pa. Ger. same idiom.  
 Lan., Dau., Bucks, Sch., Mont.  
 C.-O.

HUB, *v*. Graze with the hub.

"Look out or you'll *hub* that post."  
 Lan., Bucks.  
 Verb formed from noun; cf. *horn*.  
 C.-O.

HUDDER. (Rare.) Cap sheaf.

"That shock of wheat will get wet unless it has a *hudder* on it."  
 Lan., Cent., Ad.  
 C.-O.

- HUMMY.** Little Calf.  
 "That's my *hummy* there by the red cow."  
 Lan., Y., Leb., Dau., Berks, Sch., Ad.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *homili*; prob. connected with Ger. *hummel*, a young bull (colloq.).  
 C.-O.
- INK-LICKER.** who earns a living otherwise than by manual labor.  
 "He wants to get a place as *ink-licker* in some store."  
 Lan., Leb., Berks.  
 Used by Hoover, p. 23: "Fred Ruthvon is making an ink-licker of his boy instead of bringing him up to the plow . . ."  
 C.-O.
- JACKET.** Vest; waistcoat.  
 "He took off his coat and his *jacket*."  
 Lan., Leb., Ches., Sch., Mif., Y., Cum., Dau., Bucks.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *jacket* = waistcoat. The English work has been adopted and used in this sense, then it finds its way back into English with its new meaning.  
 C.—Local U. S.
- JAG, n.** Small load.  
 "We brought a *jag* of hay along."  
 Mif., Y., Lan., Bucks, Cum.  
 C.—Prov. Eng. and U. S.
- LEAVEN (lev'n).** Allow; let.  
 "*Leaven* me see your book."  
 Lan., Leb., Berks, Lack., Sch.  
 C. gives *leave* with this meaning, but not *leaven*.
- LET.** Allow to remain.  
 "*Let* your books here when you go."  
 Lan., Dau., Bucks, Y., Mif., Sch., Leb., Ches.  
 fr. Pa. Ger. *lusa*, Ger. *lassen*, which in both languages is used for *let* and *leave*.  
 C.—Obs.
- LIKEN (v.) OF LIKE.** To be likely.  
 "I *likened* to die of cold last week."  
 Lan., Ad., Leb., Y., Cent.  
 C. gives *like* in this sense, rare.

LOCK OPEN.

Unlock.

"Lock the door open. I want to come in."

Lan., Leb., Ad., Y.

fr. Pa. Ger. *ufshlesä*; Ger. *aufschliessen*.

C.-O.

LISTEN ON.

Listen to.

"Just listen on him!"

Dau., Lan., Leb., Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. *ufharä* or *awharä*; Ger. *anhören*.

C.-O.

LOSS, *v.*

Lose.

"Be careful of that or you'll loss it."

Lan., Leh., Westmd., Mer., Ad.

Verb formed from noun, or merely a mispronunciation?

C.-O.

LOUD, *v. i.*

To sound.

"That music doesn't loud pretty to me."

Lan., Dau., Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. *lawdä*, not in Horne; Ger. *lauten*.

Used also of the thought, as: "Don't say such things; it lounds badly."

C.-O.

MAKE.<sup>1</sup>

Do.

"What did you make, that you tore your coat so?"

Lan., Leb., Y., Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. *wos möchst*; Ger. *machen*.

C.—Archaic; quotes F. Q. VII, 6, 25.

MAKE.<sup>2</sup>

Prepare, especially by cooking.

"She made a beefsteak for breakfast."

Lan., Leb., Y., Dau., Ch., Montg., Ad.

fr. Pa. Ger. *möchä*; so used.

C., I, 5, gives *prepare*, as to prepare a feast; but here the use is somewhat different.

"His daughter, a very pleasing young lady, made breakfast."—

Boswell, "Tour to the Hebrides," Thursday, Aug. 19.

"And he also had made savory meat."—Genesis, 27: 31.

(To be Continued.)

## REVIEWS.

*Geschichte des Weinbaus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bayerischen Rheinpfalz von Dr. Friedrich Bassermann-Jordan. 1907: Frankfurt am Main. Heinrich Keller. 3 Bde. M. 30.*

In three large volumes, numbering in all 962 pages, Dr. Bassermann-Jordan has contributed the most complete, searching and interesting account of European grape culture with special reference to the Rhine Palatinatè, that has so far been undertaken by one individual. The nature of the subject compelled the author to go beyond the confines of present-day Germany. The contributions of the Romans, who really brought the knowledge of grape culture to the north, are duly considered. The work is tastefully illustrated by 140 cuts and 20 charts. It is beautifully printed and attractively bound. Numerous footnotes bespeak the painstaking method of the writer. A most valuable bibliography is appended to the last volume covering forty pages and dealing with the entire range of the subject in hand. In contrast with many German books this work contains a very full index and table of contents.

The work is, in a measure, a labor of love. Dr. Bassermann-Jordan is a resident of Deidesheim, of which city his brother, Dr. Ludwig Bassermann-Jordan is Burgomaster. Deidesheim figures prominently in this treatise, a distinction which it is duly entitled to, as the Rhine Palatinate is in fact the cradle of the now highly developed industry of wine culture in Germany.

The scope of the work is perhaps best comprehended in an epitome of its contents. Under the caption of "History of the Spread and Development of Wine Culture" the following subheads are treated: 1. The "Urrebe," when it is shown that the grape-vine is indigenous to many climes and that former claims of certain scholars that the grape-vine came from the Orient is unfounded. It is granted, however, that the knowledge of the treatment and improvement of the plant and its fruit came from the East. 2. The grape-vine was known in prehistoric times but the region where the discovery of its usefulness was made, cannot be determined with accuracy. 3. Caesar's appearance in Gaul was an event of great moment, for from

the Romans the northern races became acquainted with the cultivated vine. 4. According to Tacitus, agriculture and horticulture were undeveloped among the Germans in the first century of our era. It was Emperor Probus (276-282) who really brought the knowledge of cultivating the grape to the Rhine region. The author traces, in an illuminating manner, the development of this industry from the decline of the Roman supremacy to the present day.

In the second volume of the work Dr. Bassermann-Jordan treats historically these themes: The tillage of the vineyard, Vintage, Implements employed in the vineyard, Wine-press, Species of grapes, Other plants besides the grape in the vineyard, Treatment of wine. In the same volume he discusses the hindrances to grape culture, that have existed and may still obtain. The most serious check is man himself, who either by the devastation of war, wanton destruction, limitation of agriculture, trade and traffic, duties on wine or by adulterations retards the wine industry. A second hindrance is discussed under the heading "Rebeschädlinge." Here the destruction caused by animals, insects, blight, mildew rot, etc., is carefully treated.

No less interesting are the descriptions, amplified by illustrations, of various vessels used for storing wine, drinking cups and wine-vaults. The cost of wine production, the various species of grapevines, areas taken up by vineyards and their yield are then considered in detail.

The third volume contains among other things a record by years of the weather conditions conducive or unfavorable to the production of wine, dating with greater or smaller gaps back to the year 91 A. D. Wine prices are treated in a separate chapter as are also the topics of the traffic and consumption of wine.

The entire treatise is historical. The sources are carefully cited and varying opinions are duly noted. It is a stupendous undertaking to get to the bed rock of the truth in the study of an industry that has played such an important rôle in the civilization of the human race. While the author deals particularly with the industry of the Rhine Palatinate, he does not fail to do justice to every other wine-growing region of Germany.

The work is a monumental contribution to the economic history of Germany and should find a host of readers in America.

WM. G. BEK.

#### ADDENDA.

Inasmuch as the Jordan family, to which the author of the above-noted *Geschichte des Weinbaus* belongs, has been engaged in grape culture at Deidesheim since 1773, it will interest our readers to learn that the brother of our author, Dr. Ludwig Bassermann-Jordan, Burgomaster of Deidesheim, was one of the jurors at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904. He is also both a scholar and a man of affairs, having, with fine historic instinct and taste, revived the old customs of the vintage season on his paternal estates, with the costumes and festivities of an earlier period and even himself written vintage songs for such occasions. After his return from America he joined the "Stars and Stripes" to the colors of the Pfalz in the vintage season of that year, as may be seen from the accompanying illustration representing the Burgomaster and his vintagers in festal array.

The region of Deidesheim is the garden spot of grape culture in the Rhenish Palatinate and some of the best of this grape land is found in the Bassermann-Jordan estates. One who has had the pleasure of enjoying the hospitality and the sparkling wines of Deidesheim must wonder that our American importers do not give more expression to their admiration for the "Pfalz" by offering their patrons more of the delicious wines of the Haardt, particularly as the firm of Hammell in Neustadt and Giessen of Deidesheim export directly to American houses. Historically Deidesheim has many points of interest for Americans, both of German and English descent. It was in this region that the scenes of Cooper's novel *Heidenmauer* were laid. The old castle and monastery and the Heidenmauer itself are still standing as monuments of the fierce but romantic past. The efforts of the Bassermann-Jordan family, especially of Dr. Ludwig and Dr. Friedrich Bassermann-Jordan, and of the venerable archæologist Dr. Mehlis have done much to keep alive an intelligent interest in the historical importance of this picturesque region. This interest was expressed in the Exhibition held in Neustadt in the year 1903, when a fine display was made of articles illustrating the manners, customs and industries of the Palatinate.—[THE EDITOR.]

(284)



**PROCESSION OF VINTAGERS FROM THE VINEYARDS OF THE FAMILY BASSERMANN-JORDAN IN DEIDESHEIM.**  
The Stars and Stripes appear with the Colors of the Bavarian Pfalz and of the Family Jordan in the foreground. Burgomaster Dr. L. Bassermann-Jordan is Director of the Procession.





## FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS.

PROF. DR. OTTO BINDEWALD, University of Giessen.  
PROF. DR. KARL BORINSKI, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ALOYS BRANDL, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. OTTO BREMER, University of Halle.  
PROF. DR. KARL BREUL, King's College, Cambridge, England.  
PROF. DR. KONRAD BURDACH, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. CREIZENACH, University of Krakau.  
PROF. DR. ERNST ELSTER, University of Marburg.  
DR. K. ENDEMANN, Weilberg a. L.  
PROF. DR. LUDWIG GEIGER, University of Berlin.  
DR. GRAYELL, Brussels.  
PROF. DR. F. HOLTHAUSEN, University of Kiel.  
PROF. DR. M. H. JELLINEK, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. O. JIRICZEK, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. MAX KOCH, University of Breslau.  
PROF. DR. K. LANDMANN, Darmstadt.  
PROF. DR. PAUL LANGHANS, Gotha.  
PROF. DR. H. LAMBEL, University of Prague.  
PROF. DR. JOHN MEIER, University of Basel.  
PROF. DR. RUDOLPH MEISSNER, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. RICHARD M. MEYER, University of Berlin.  
PROF. DR. J. MINOR, University of Vienna.  
PROF. DR. E. MOGK, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. LORENZ MORSBACH, University of Göttingen.  
PROF. DR. F. MUNCKER, University of Munich.  
PROF. DR. ANTON SCHOENBACH, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. BERNHARD SEUFFERT, University of Graz.  
PROF. DR. ALEXANDER TILLE, University of Glasgow.  
PROF. DR. H. VARNHAGEN, University of Erlangen.  
PROF. DR. OSKAR WALZEL, University of Bern.  
PROF. DR. G. WITKOWSKI, University of Leipzig.  
PROF. DR. WYCHGRAM, University of Leipzig.

(List may be extended.)

---

## Form von Vermächtnissen.

I give and bequeath to the "*German American Historical Society*", Central Office located at Philadelphia, Pa., \_\_\_\_\_

---

(Here describe the amount, if money or premises, if real estate)

to aid in carrying out the designs of the Society.

## THE NATIONAL GERMAN AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

*President*, DR. C. J. HEXAMER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*1st Vice-Pres.*, JOSEPH KELLER, Indianapolis, Ind.  
*2d Vice-Pres.*, NOAH GUTER, Newark, N. J.  
*Treas.*, H. WENIGER, Phila., Pa. *Fin. Sec.*, JOHN YENNY, East Pittsburg, Pa.  
*Sec.*, ADOLPH TIMM, 522 W. Lehigh Ave., Phila., Pa.

### *National Executive Committee:*

JOHN TJARKS, Balto., Md.; C. W. BENTE, Wheeling, W. Va.;  
KURT VOELCKNER, Washington, D. C.; F. OSKAR MARTIN, Idaho;  
H. I. NIENSTEDT, St. Paul, Minn.; GUSTAV C. MARTENS, Cleveland, O.;  
C. C. LIENAU, Newark, N. J.; DR. CARL BARK, St. Louis, Mo.;  
DR. H. A. C. ANDERSON, N. Y. City; ALBERT CURLIN, Oakland, Cal.;  
H. C. BLOEDEL, Allegheny, Pa.; CARL EBERHARD, Boston, Mass.

## THE GERMAN AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(INCORPORATED 1901)

*Honorary President*, J. G. ROSENGARTEN, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*President*, DR. ALBERT BERNHEIM, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Vice-Presidents*: L. P. HENNIGHAUSEN, Baltimore, Md. H. H. VON STARKLOFF,  
St. Louis, Mo. C. F. HUCH, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Editor*: MARION D. LEARNED, BOX 10, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Treasurer*: HANS WENIGER, Philadelphia, Pa.  
*Business Manager and Secretary*: } CHARLES H. BREITBARTH, 5821 Chester Avenue,  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Annual Dues, \$5.00.

## THE UNION OF OLD GERMAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

*Headquarters*, ARION HALL, 59th St. and Park Ave., New York

*President*, DR. CARL BECK, 37 E. 31st St., New York.

### *Vice-Presidents:*

DR. M. D. LEARNED,  
HON. CHAS. F. MCLEAN,

DR. HENRY G. KRAUS,  
DR. CARL BARCK,

DR. W. FREUDENTHAL.

*Rec. Secretary*, DR. J. HECKMANN. *Cor. Secretary*, DR. CARL PFISTER.  
*Treasurer*, DR. ALBERT J. W. KERN, Jamaica, N. Y.

### *Directors:*

DR. EM. BARUCH,  
DR. CHAS. F. CHANDLER,  
H. DROBEGG,  
DR. C. W. ELIOT,  
D. C. GILMAN,  
WILLIAM R. HARPER,  
FRIEDRICH HIRTH,  
OSWALD JOERG,  
HENRY G. KRAUSE,  
L. HERZOG.

W. HALLOCK,  
DR. R. JOHNSTONE MOONEY,  
DR. H. MUENSTERBERG,  
W. SCHAUFFLER,  
DR. H. SCHOENFELD,  
H. SCHUETER,  
DR. J. G. SCHUBMAN,  
DR. L. L. SEAMAN,  
ANDREW H. SMITH,  
ANDREW VON GRIMM,

H. A. WEBER.

Annual Dues, \$3.00.













3 2044 014 839 997

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED  
THE COST OF OVERDUE NOTIFICATION  
IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO  
THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST  
DATE STAMPED BELOW.

BOOK DUE WID  
DEC 29 1979

**CANCELLED**

BOOK DUE WID  
FEB 1 1980

WIDENER  
BOOK DUE

**CANCELLED**  
DEC 1 1980

WIDENER  
MAR 06 2000  
**CANCELLED**



